M. J. VERMASEREN

MITHRIACA I

THE MITHRAEUM AT S. MARIA CAPUA VETERE

TUTA SUB AEGIDE PALLAS
EJB

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THE MITHRAEUM AT S. MARIA CAPUA VETERE

ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

PUBLIÉES PAR

M. J. VERMASEREN

TOME SEIZIÈME

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LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1971

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WITH 5 FIGURES, 28 PLATES AND 2 PLANS

LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1971

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HENDRIK WAGENVOORT

praeceptori
atque
amico

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PREFACE

The Mithraeum at Capua is in many respects one of the most important sanctuaries of the Iranian god who in the first centuries of our era conquered the Roman world. It is decorated with fascinating and original paintings by a number of artists, many of them being unique in their kind. The most interesting, however, are the ones on a number of the front panels of the side benches, which revealed a large part of the initiation rites for the first time. Until 1924, the year of the Mithraeum's excavation, one had to rely for these questions on the scattered and hostile evidence of the Church Fathers. Since 1924 the Capuan frescoes have been mentioned in nearly every publication, but it seems that the ever-increasing number of new finds has kept the scholars from a thorough control of the first publication by Prof. A. Minto. Nor have these exceptional initiation-ceremonies ever been reproduced in colour, and consequently scholars have often come to erroneous conclusions. At a time when Mithraism finds such an enormous interest in the world of learning it therefore seems necessary to start with a revaluation of the many older finds, and in this context the Capuan sanctuary deserves first place.

That this first volume of *Mithriaca* is dedicated to Prof. H. Wagenvoort will not surprise those who have read his books, in which so many pages show his deep interest in the mystery cults. It is our hope that the illustrious Utrecht *emeritus* will be able to devote still more studies to the intricate problems of ancient religion. *Nama, novis et multis annis!*

23rd August 1970

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger.
AC	Antike und Christentum.
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology.
AM	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.
BABesch	Bulletin van de Vereniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving.
BCR	Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica di Roma.
Bidez—Cumont	J. Bidez—Fr. Cumont, *Les Mages hellénisés*, I–II, Paris 1938.
CIMRM	Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae, I–II, The Hague 1956–1960.
CRAI	Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
Cumont, *Lux*	Fr. Cumont, *Lux Perpetua*, Paris 1949.
Cumont, *MM*	Fr. Cumont, *Die Mysterien des Mithra*, Leipzig 1923^{3}.
Cumont, *MMM*	Fr. Cumont, *Monuments et Mystères de Mithra*, I–II, Brussels 1896–1898.
Cumont, *Rel. Or.*	Fr. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le Paganisme romain*, Paris 1929^{4}.
Cumont, *Symb. fun.*	Fr. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, Paris 1942.
DS	Daremberg—Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, Paris 1877.
Helbig, *Führer*	W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen Klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, I–III, Tübingen 1963–1969^{4}.
HThR	Harvard Theological Review.
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum.
JdI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies.
LeRoy Campbell	LeRoy A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, Leyden 1968.
MAAR	Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome.
MdI	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Mendel, *Cat. Sculpt.*	G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines*, Constantinople 1914.
MNHIR	Mededelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut in Rome.
MPAA	Memorie della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia.

Nilsson, *GR*	M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I–II, Munich 1941–1950.
NSc	Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità.
Picard, *Sculpt. Ant.*	Ch. Picard, *Manuel d'Archéologie. La Sculpture*, I–IV, Paris 1935–1963.
RA	Revue archéologique.
RAC	Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum.
RGVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeite.
RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.
Testini, *Catacombe*	P. Testini, *Le Catacombe e gli antichi Cimiteri christiani in Roma*, Bologna 1966.
Vermaseren, *Mithras*	M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithras, Geschichte eines Kultes*, Stuttgart 1965.
Vermaseren—van Essen	M. J. Vermaseren—C. C. van Essen, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca*, Leyden 1965.
Vig. Chr.	Vigiliae Christianae.

THE MITHRAEUM AT S. MARIA CAPUA VETERE

One of the most beautiful and important sanctuaries dedicated to Mithras is the one that at the end of September 1922 was discovered at Capua in one of the *criptoportici* near the Capitol of the Roman City and close to the Church of S. Erasmo *in Capitolio*. The siting of this *speleum* in the vico Caserma (See Pl. I and Fig. 1) indicates yet again how the Iranian god was able to penetrate into the very surroundings of the official State-cult [1]). It seems probable that he had already done so at the beginning of the second century A.D.; the Mithraeum itself was not destroyed but filled up with rubbish in order to make it inaccessible [2]). One does not know whether the Christians are to blame for it, in any case they did not construct a church here as a symbol of their victory.

By a flight of modern steps (*s*) one descends into a part of the *cryptoporticus* which is running north-south (See Plan: Fig. 1). The brickwork of the wall is very well preserved and seems to date from the period Trajan-Hadrian, though this is not verified by brickstamps. This part of the *cryptoporticus* consists of three successive

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1) The Mithraeum was excavated in the spring of 1924 by A. Minto who published an excellent study in *NSc* (S. v) XXI, 1924, 353-375. Some remarks by Fr. Cumont in *CRAI* 1924, 113-115 and in *RA* (S. 5) XX, 1924, 185 f.; *cf.* also K. Lehmann-Hartleben in *AA* 1926, 126 f. The description in *CIMRM* I, nos 180-199 is in general based on Minto's work. After a first short visit in 1947 under unfavourable circumstances I studied the sanctuary again in 1968, assisted by my wife Mrs M. E. C. Vermaseren-van Haaren, Miss M. B. de Boer, the designer Ottorino Cappabianca and the photographer Antonio Solazzi. A republication is necessary in the light and the context of new finds. I am grateful to Prof. Alfonso de Franciscis, Superintendent of Antiquities in the provinces of Naples and Caserta and to Avv. Luigi Garofano Venosta, Director of the Archaeological Museum at Capua for their permission to undertake this. For valuable help in the Archaeological Institute of the State University at Utrecht, I wish to express my gratitude to the Director, Prof. J. W. Salomonson, and his staff, especially Mr J. J. V. M. Derksen. I should also like to thank Mr T. A. Edridge for his assistance with the English of this book.

Every scholar is indebted to the publishers E. J. Brill and to the blockmakers, D. Schnabel, who provided this book with such precious coloured documentation, so indispensable for studies in the future when the paintings themselves perhaps no longer exist.

2) As on the Aventine: Vermaseren-van Essen, 43.

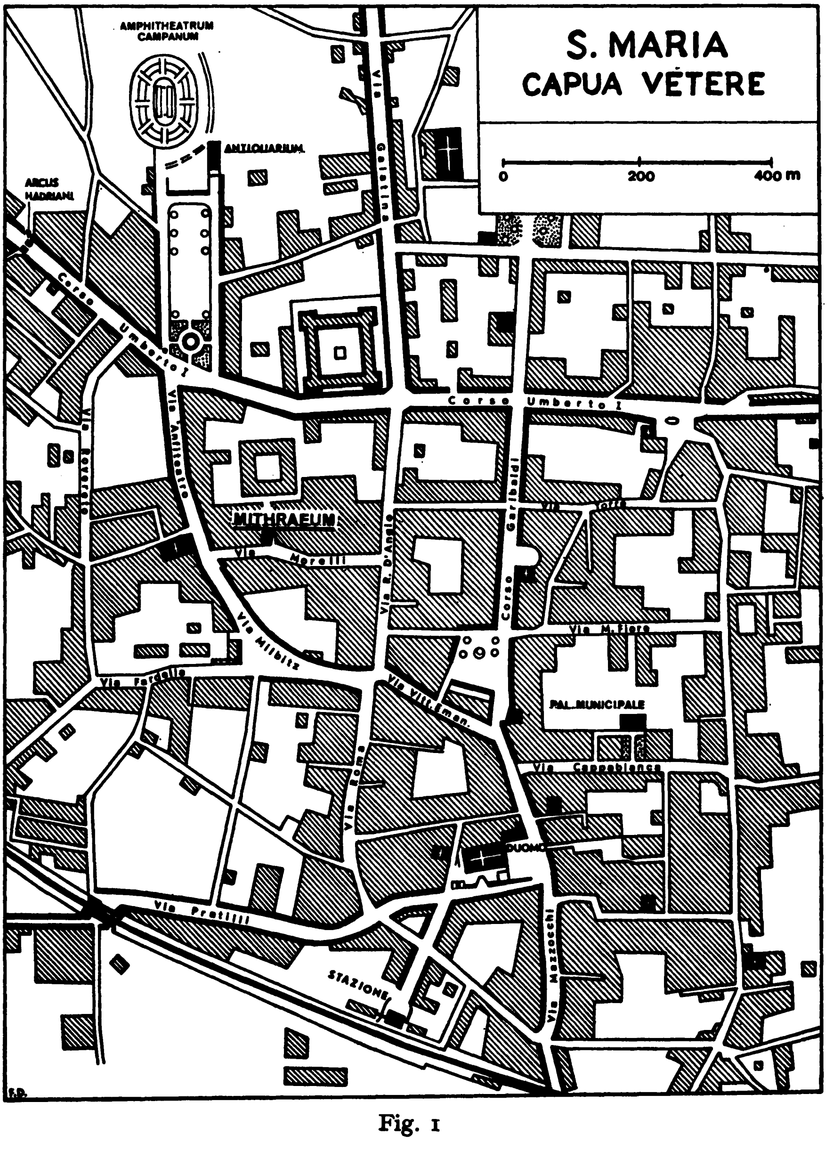
S. MARIA
CAPUA VETERE
0
200
400 m
AMPHITHEATRUM CAMPANUM
ANTIQUARIUM
ARCUS HADRIANI
Via Gelatina
Corso Umberto I
Via Anfiteatro
Via Gorgie
MITHRAEUM
Via Morelli
Via R. D'Angiò
Corso Garibaldi
Via Torre
Via M. Fiore
Via Milbitz
Via Fardella
Via Vitt. Eman.
PAL. MUNICIPALE
Via Cappabianca
Via Roma
DUOMO
Via Pratilli
STAZIONE
Via Mazzocchi
F.D.

Fig. 1

sections (*o*, *p*, *q*) with a width of 4.41 m and a total length of 13.32 m. The vault here is not stuccoed as it is in the annex sanctuary and it is therefore uncertain whether this part served as a ***vestibulum***, though this is likely. That the entrance was just here was very satisfactory, since in this way—as in some other Mithraea [1]—nobody was able to enter the sanctuary proper unexpectedly and see the secret ceremonies. In section *q* (L. 1.82 m, W. 3.36 m) there are along the western side-wall three small steps leading to an elevated dais (L. 0.93 m, W. 0.88 m): the sections *p* (L. 2.98 m, W. 4.43 m) and *o* (L. 3.46 m, W. 4.41 m) are (like *p* and *q*) divided from each other by big pilasters; neither of them have peculiar features.

The whole Mithraeum (Pl. II) is stuccoed and painted (Fig. 2 and Plan) and shows different periods (L. 12.27 m, W. 3.37 m). The arch near *o* has a height of 3.37 m like the vault, which from here on is decorated with stars. These stars are painted inside a circle, they each have eight rays and they are alternately red and blue on a dark-yellow background. In the centre of them a very small hole is often visible. It is said that when it was discovered the vault was besprinkled with precious stones [2] which were later on stolen; but among the loose earth we found a little circular piece of blue glass paste with a hole in the middle; it therefore seems probable that these glass decorations (which may have been of various colours) were nailed into the stars. Yet again the vault symbolizes the heavens, and this is emphasized (as we shall see) in a most remarkable way by the representations of Sol-Mithras on the western and Luna on the eastern wall. This orientation, which occurs in some other Mithraic sanctuaries also [3], seems as in Ponza [4] to be due to the original construction of the *cryptoporticus*. Above the left wall *g* there

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1) See Vermaseren, *CIMRM* I-II.

2) *Cf.* the relief at Dura (*CIMRM* I, no 37 and fig. 14): "on the top splay there are four holes. In the first there is a white inset stone. The second one carried a bit of green glazed pottery, but the other two insets are lost." Jewels were set in the front of Mithras' cap, in the sun-disc and in a star inside the crescent. A drill hole can be seen in the nostril of the bull. It is not certain that stones or pieces of glass were also inset in the little holes above and on either side of Mithras' head, above Sol's head, and in the nostril of the bull of the fresco on the West wall.

3) Examples are enumerated in LeRoy A. Campbell.

4) See *Mithriaca*, II.

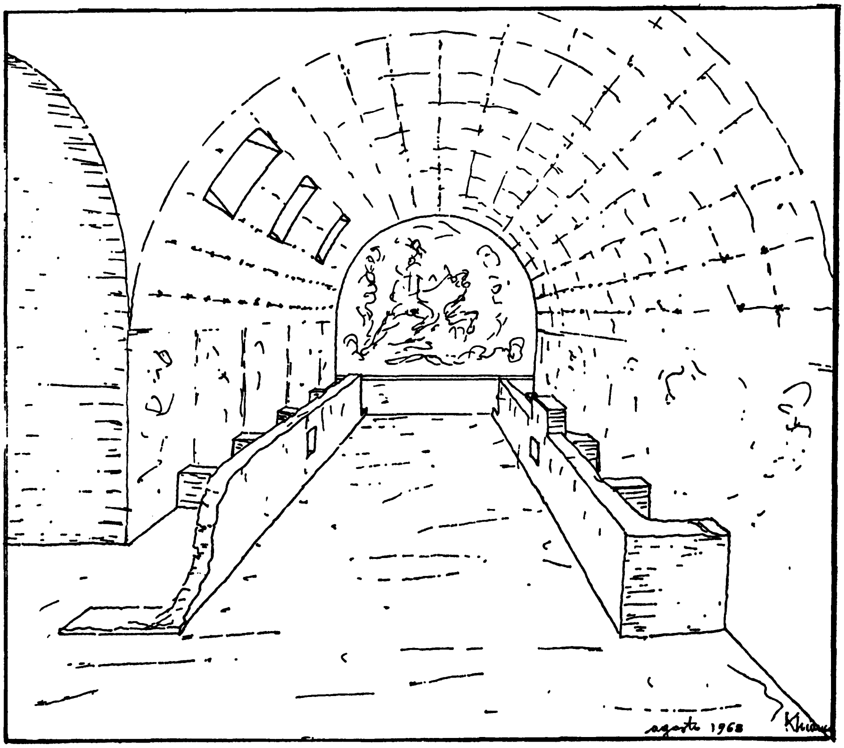

Fig. 2

are three rectangular air-holes (L. 0.80 m) surrounded by red borders. Their sides are painted white. At a distance of 3.30 m from the cult-niche there is a remarkable plate as a sort of threshold, indicating that one now has reached the most sacred part of the sanctuary [1]. The central aisle *n* (W. 1.60 m) is inlayed with pieces of marble (*bolletinato*), and is flanked by the usual benches. In period I these benches were shorter and smaller than in period II; originally (*hh*) they ran only about 1.40 m along the walls of the Mithraeum (H. 0.45 m, W. 0.37 m); later on they were extended (*m, l*) as far as the entrance. Since the paintings on the side walls partially disappear under these new podia [2] it is clear that they, as well as some of the other frescoes, belong to other periods than the scenes on the front sides of the podia. The left podium along the southern wall (H. 0.85 m, L. 8, 35 m, W. 0.90 m) is interrupted by a rectangular water-basin *m* (L. 1.28 m, W. 0.67 m, D. 0.55 m); in the right bench (W. 0.97 m) there is also a basin *d* (See section B-B) and a large and deep well *c*, in the walls of which are holes at varying heights, so that one could descend into it with the help of a rope. At the end of both benches near the cult-niche there are small steps, and in the front of the podia near the basins small niches (H. 0.32 m, D. 0.32 m) were made. These niches, which are found in many Mithraea, sometimes clearly served for putting lamps in (there are then traces of fire and smoke); or they could have been used for storing knives and similar apparatus.

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[1] See also: *CIMRM* I, no 272 and fig. 80 (Ostia).

[2] This is clearly visible on Pl. II at the right; the *podia* have been emptied of their filling. For these periods see below pp. 49 ff.

The cult-niche itself contains an elevated podium covering the whole width of the western wall (and therefore connected with both side benches, W. 2.83 m). This podium (*i*) however slopes towards the wall and has at its front a little drain (W. 0.09 m, D. 0.08 m) leading towards well *d*. This channel does not normally occur in a Mithraeum but there is often a water basin before the niche. The depth of this dais (D. 1.57 m), which is painted red at the front, warrants our supposing that during ceremonies such as the sacred meal the Pater and the Heliodromus reclined upon it. In the S^{a} Prisca Mithraeum also these two leading figures in the mysteries had their own bench which was constructed immediately in front of the scene of the sacred repast. Moreover, as we shall see below, both Father and Heliodromus were represented in a separate painting near the entrance (on walls *e* and *f*) and for a second time on Panel III of the right wall *e*.

It is unfortunate that we do not know the name of the painter who decorated the back wall (*i*) with the marvellous scene of Mithras slaying the bull (Pl. III), and who was also responsible for the greater part of the other works of art in this famous sanctuary 1). As in Marino 2) the attitude and attire of the young Iranian god are those of an eastern prince. With all his strength he presses his left knee and

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1) The colours are too dark in A. Toynbee, *The Crucible of Christianity*, London 1969, Pl. 50.

2) See *Mithriaca*, II.

foot into the back of the white, buffalo-like bull. The invincible god grasps the fierce beast with his left hand in the nostrils, so that the animal gasps for breath with open mouth at the very moment that he meets with the deadly stab of the steel-grey dagger. Mithras' dress consists as usual of a tiara [1]) with long flaps, a short tunic with long sleeves (*tunica manicata*), long trousers (*anaxyrides*), and a billowing cape, which is fastened on his right shoulder with a circular, golden *fibula*. The garment of the divine hero is dark red but is bordered with precious embroidery in green stripes filled in with golden patterns, the shoes however are yellow. The cap which covers the widely curling brownish locks of hair is decorated from the top downwards with a stripe on each side of which run golden vertical threads. Still more finely made is the tunic which is red but has a small bright blue part below the neck. On Mithras' right arm next to his shoulder is a little golden square with four points (? a brooch), and above his elbow is a long golden branch covered with beautiful green foliage, from which rise graceful golden curls. Above this is a row of little vertical lines; below there is a golden fringe. Upon the god's left arm a similar adornment is visible between the lunar-shaped horns of the bull. The same artificial needlework in larger and smaller forms is sewn upon the cuff of the right sleeve and the tunic's border. The stripes on the trousers are similar to those on the cap but here the golden pattern is clearly visible and it consists of alternating little rosettes and crowns. The cloak also has a heavy golden edging and above it one long branch with the same golden curls as on the arms of the god. Sometimes these elegant curls are also painted on the inside of the cloak, which has the bright blue colour of the celestial sky. Here, blaze in their stead the seven planets; like the stars on the vault they have eight rays.

The *deus invictus* has a golden baldric to which a golden sheath is fastened with a green cord; the hilt of his sharp and unerring dagger is also of gold. The face of the divine hero radiates youth and power. He has long eyebrows and a small mouth. One would suppose that the sad damage to nose and eyes (certainly brown) was caused by the Christians, but it is said to have happened during the excavations. Thus the normal sorrowful expression of the god is no longer visible.

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[1]) *Cf.* J. H. Young, *Commagenian Tiaras*: *Royal and Divine* in *AJA* 68, 1964, 29-34.

A brown dog is leaping up in order to lick the blood streaming from the bull's wounds; over the soil coils 1) a very long dark-brown snake, which lifts up its head in the same direction. The artist has patiently painted each of the hundreds of scales on the body of this horrible monster with its red crest and black tongue. A yellow scorpion clutches the bull's testicles. The upraised tail of the dying animal ends in three large and full corn-ears, one of which is hanging down on account of its weight. On this side of the scene stands Cautes, not as usual cross-legged, with a flaming yellow torch in his upraised right hand and a yellow bow in his outstretched left hand. To him corresponds at the right side before the bull the figure of Cautopates who seems to be walking; he holds in his right hand a dark-coloured flaming torch pointed downwards and in his left hand a dark-yellow bow. It is remarkable that both deities, who are hypostases of Mithras himself, are represented in much smaller proportion: in this way both accentuate still more the lofty magnitude of the god at the moment of his creation of the new life. Their attire too is much less sumptuous. Cautes (Pl. IV), who is looking in astonishment at the corn-ears bursting out from the tail, wears a red tiara on his dark-brown hair and this is decorated at the side with a star 2) with seven rays. The yellow tunica with long sleeves is bordered with bright green stripes at the neck, above the elbows and on the cuffs, where the decoration has the form of a bracelet. Above the border at the lower end of the tunic runs a green meander. The long trousers are also yellow and have a green stripe. The felt shoes are red like

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1) Vergil, *Aeneid*, II, 204: *immensis orbibus*; II, 208: *sinuatque immensa volumina terga*; II, 206 f: *iubaeque sanguineae*; II, 211: *linguis vibrantibus*. The *two* snakes appear at the moment that II, 202 f: *Laocoon, ductus Neptune sorte sacerdos, sollemnis taurum ingentem mactabat ad aras*. It is superfluous to say that the situation in Vergil is essentially different.

2) The cap being also a symbol of the sky (*cf.* lastly LeRoy Campbell, index *s.v.* cap; stars and Part V). A star on Mithras' cap: *CIMRM* I, no 75 (Sidon); 435 (Rome). LeRoy Campbell (p. 92) erroneously sees a star on the god's cap on the Capuan fresco (no 181) and the statue from Sidon (no 76). For the ἀστερωτὸς πίλος of Attis: M. J. Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis*, Leyden 1966, 33 n. 2.

his belt. The cloak is also red and has gold piping only; the inside is purple. Cautopates (Pl. V) also wears a red cap but without stars; he has red felt shoes, but these are dark red on the heel and heel-strap and bright red on the other parts. The *tunica manicata*, the cloak, and the trousers are grey with violet in the folds and on the piping of the cloak. The tunic is bordered with green like that of Cautes, but on his breast Cautopates has a green square with two thick horizontal stripes inside, which gives the impression of a προστηϑίδιον such as is worn by an *archigallus* of Cybele in Rome 1).

From the soil of the grotto the head and crest of a divinity is rising up on either side (Pl. VI and VII). On the right side it is the head of Tellus Mater; she has bright blue eyes 2) and grey-bluish hair. The soil below her is indicated in green. On the other side the head of Oceanus is painted in a fascinating way. He is visible from his broad shoulders; his neck is green like seaweed. The large blue eyes of the majestic ruler look at one severely. From his forehead and his wild wealth of hair (dark-blue in colour) two red horns emerge; his long beard has a grey-bluish colour and seems to be wet.

The grotto where the dramatic slaying of the bull takes place is built up from bright brown blocks ~~of~~ which sometimes resemble clouds. It is shadowy inside the cave but it is darker on the side of Cautopates than elsewhere; the painter has used a darker blue here. Outside the cave the air is white above, but below there are heavy clouds from which rise the busts of Sol and Luna. To the left of Cautes the youthful Sun god (Pl. IX) is represented as a charioteer with a whip in his right hand. He is clad in a red shoulder-cape which is fastened with a circular golden *fibula*. He has brown eyes and he gazes upon Mithras' wonderful deed in amazement. His hair is brown and curling and is dressed in just the same style as that of the wonderful Sol in *intarsio* found in the Mithraeum of S^{a} Prisca

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1) See C. Pietrangeli, *La statua di un "Gallus"* nei *Musei Capitolini* in *BCR* IX 1962, 9 ff with Pls 1-3; Helbig, *Führer* II^{4}, 31 f no 1183; M. J. Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis*, 34 and Pl. XIX,1. *Cf.* Ch. Picard, *Les apprêts de l'ordination d'un Galle* in *RHR* CII, 1930, 5 ff. See also the tunic of Attis on a mosaic from Carthago: J. W. Salomonson, *La Mosaïque aux chevaux de l'antiquarium de Carthage*, The Hague 1965, 60 f, 113 with fig. 37 and Pl. XLIII,3.

2) The left eye is damaged.

on the Aventine [1]. In the white heavenly light the radiate crown of eleven rays [2] is not easily discernible, but one long and fierce ray is directed towards the killer. The raven, messenger of Sol, is perched upon the grotto's border. At the right side above Cautopates is Luna with a white crescent behind her shoulders. She wears in her long dark-brown hair a golden diadem adorned on the front with an oval gem. The goddess has a melancholy expression. She has brown eyes. The whole scene is bordered by a thick dark blue line outside which is a thin purple line (See Pl. X).

Among the hundreds of representations of Mithras, which are spread over the Roman Empire, only a few are paintings. In the East we have the paintings in the Mithraeum at Dura-Europos; in the West painted groups of the slaying of the bull are limited to Italy and concentrated in Rome and its surroundings.

The mutual similarities and differences will be summed up in the publication of the Mithraeum at Marino [3]. The scene of Mithras as bull-slayer at Capua bears the most resemblance to that at Marino. In both the bull is white; the dog is similar; so are the royal attire of Mithras, the curled locks of Sol and his amazed expression, the crescent of Luna which with its light forms a nimbus, and finally the grotto's cloud-like border. But on the other hand, the composition in the Marino Mithraeum with its small white side panels resembles more that in the Barberini sanctuary at Rome. And so the bull-slaying at Capua forms a link between the two others [4].

Needless to say the colours accentuate the symbolism of the tauroctony [5], but it must be remarked that the colours used are far from being the same everywhere. The red colour of Mithras' tunic, which reminds the faithful of blood and vitality [6], is however

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1) Vermaseren-van Essen, 142; 442 no 27 and Pls XXXVI-XXXVII. Now in colour: R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome. La Fin de l'art antique*, Paris 1970.

2) Not seven as is stated in *CIMRM* I, no 181.

3) See *Mithriaca*, II.

4) See also LeRoy Campbell, 88 n. 27.

5) See also LeRoy Campbell, 39.

6) Eva Wunderlich, *Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer* (RGVV XX), Giessen 1925.

almost invariable. The contrast between light and darkness always plays an important role. In the fresco at Capua the colours are in perfect harmony with the creation of new life brought about by the divine Mithras. The white [1] of the bull in agony corresponds with the white spheres in which Sol and Luna are dwelling. This means that the animal has a celestial character and that he is therefore pure. The other animals belong to the terrestial world and have their natural colours. The colours (yellow, red, and green) of Cautes are bright, those of Cautopates (green, grey, and red) are dark in correspondence with the fact that in the grotto there is more light on Cautes' and Sol's side than in the realm of Cautopates and Luna. The sky with the seven planets on the inside of Mithras' cloak is blue—similar symbolism is of course found in many other paintings of a non-Mithraic character. The vegetation which is growing from the bull's tail is accentuated by a broad border of *finto cippolino* underneath the painting. These green stripes of imitation marble resemble a meadow.

There are however two characteristic features in this impressive painting at Capua. In the first place the fact that both torch-bearers hold a bow in their left hand, and secondly the heads of Oceanus and the Earth-goddess. It is only in this fresco at Capua out of all the representations in Italy that Cautes and Cautopates have bows; we here have to do with an exceptional case. All other similar representations are found in the Danubian countries if one ignores CIMRM I, no 83 from Sidon in Syria, a statue of Cautes standing beside a tree stump to which a quiver has been attached with the aid of a strap.

1) Germania, Nida (1084): Mithras tauroctonos; Cautes cross-legged before the bull. He holds a bow. The relief has certainly been imported from the Danubian countries.
2) Germania, Beihingen (1325): Cautes (?) or Cautopates (?) with bow. Uncertain.
3) Noricum, Virunum (1430): Cautes and Cautopates standing together; Cautopates holds a bow in his right hand.

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[1] See Fr. Cumont, *Études syriennes*, Paris 1917, 252 and more extensively in *JRS* XXVII, 1937, 69 n.33; *cf.* also *CRAI* 1942, 284-300.

4) Pannonia, Sárkeszi (1815): Mithras tauroctonos; Cautes probably cross-legged before the bull. He holds a bow in his left hand.
5) Dacia, Potaissa (1920): Mithras tauroctonos; Cautes (right) and Cautopates (left) cross-legged, hold a bow.
6) Dacia, Apulum-Mureş Port (1958): Mithras tauroctonos; Cautopates (left) holds a bow.
7) Dacia, Apulum (1975): Mithras tauroctonos; Cautes not cross-legged (right) holds a bow.

Studying these data one sees clearly that there is only one other representation (1920) of the tauroctony where Cautes and Cautopates are both carrying a bow. The differences between the relief from Potaissa and the fresco in Capua are that on the fresco the torchbearers are not cross-legged and that their positions are reversed. According to LeRoy Campbell [1]) the relief at Potaissa belongs to the Western type and the fresco at Capua to the Eastern type of torch-bearer; the reversed position is supposed to be due to a strong south Iranian influence. In order to support his theory, which is here not under discussion, LeRoy Campbell cites the Capuan fresco [2]). Now there is another representation of the torch-bearers near the entrance of the same Mithraeum (See below) i.e. of Cautes (right) on the North wall and of Cautopates (left) on the Southern wall. Here they are then represented in the normal position with reference to Mithras. LeRoy Campbell is of the opinion [3]) that the torch-bearers on the tauroctone fresco belong to an earlier period than the two torch-bearers on the side walls. But this is not wholly true as will be clear from their description below, where it will be shown that they reveal the use of the same colours and the same style as the group paintings of period II. The American scholar [4]) also connects the decoration on Cautopates' breast (See above p. 8) with a "Tablet of Fate" such as was worn by the Babylonian Marduk, sovereign of the created world. According to the conception of fate in the Iranian cosmology the Gētēh order (= material order) was

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1) LeRoy Campbell, 30.
2) LeRoy Campbell, 81 f.
3) LeRoy Campbell, 77.
4) LeRoy Campbell, 82.

under Cautopates, the Mēnōk under Cautes. Though this supposition may well be correct, I do not think that one can take it as proved by this one instance of an exceptional decoration of Cautopates' tunic. LeRoy Campbell consequently regards "Both torch-bearers armed with bows and arrows as typically Iranian as the Mounted Mithra armed with bow and arrows" [1]. That Cautes and Cautopates, both substitutes of Mithra himself also when bearing a bow are related to the scenes of Mithras with a bow is doubtless true, but one must not forget that in not one of the representations are the torch-bearers armed with arrows. They only hold the bow, "which is the instrument by which the *aqua vitae* of souls in birth is produced"[2], though the statue of Cautes in Sidon (CIMRM I, no 83) has as attribute a quiver, but without bow. Either bow and quiver are a *pars pro toto*. or both torch-bearers hold the bow ready for the great Mithras who alone is able to perform the water-miracle. These divine twins are the first to drink the nectar of the *fons perennis*, as is recorded in a line of verse in the S^a Prisca Mithraeum [3]:

Fons concluse petris qui geminos aluisti nectare fratres.

Our conclusion must be that the torch-bearers have a much closer connection with the water-miracle than with Mithras as a hunter. LeRoy Campbell [4] supports the theory that the station of Cautes is in the barrenness of the scorching burning summer; to Cautopates belong the quarters of vegetation. This theory may be correct, but the Capuan fresco can not be used as evidence. Campbell tells us that, "at the left below Cautes in the tauroctone is a grey bearded head indicating old age and barrenness, whereas a female head wreathed with flowers and fruits is placed beneath Cautopates at the right. " The author thus rightly assumes that the female head must be that of the Earth Mother and that she figures here in the quarter of vegetation (Apogenesis), but, as it happens, she does not

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1) It is however remarkable that the torch-bearers on the relief from Dieburg (*CIMRM* II, no 1247) with the mounted Mithra are not armed with a bow.

2) LeRoy Campbell, 36; 253 ff.

3) Vermaseren-van Essen, 193 ff.

4) LeRoy Campbell, 81.

here wear flowers and fruit in her hair. The head of the bearded god (1) in the left lower corner, however, is that of Oceanus, since as the ruler of the waters he is characterized by two red horns on his forehead (2). He in his turn belongs to the quarter of Genesis—as Campbell calls it—where water plays the most important role. He is not an old man but as vigorous as the Oceanus found in the Mithraeum in London (3). Now it is remarkable that Cautes and Cautopates figure in the same reversed (= "South-Iranian") position as on the fresco at Capua on a stele from the Third Mithraeum at Heddernheim (4). In the front panel is a representation of Mithras' birth from the rock, on the side panels are Cautes (left) and Cautopates (right) with crossed legs (= "Western type"). Beneath Cautes is an eagle with thunderbolt and an inscription with the figure of Oceanus. With the latter monument at Heddernheim LeRoy Campbell (5) connects the fact, that "in Iranian religion all life had its origin (Cautes) in the divine fire, which fire in varying degrees became embodied (Cautopates) in the other elements". But in the Capuan fresco we have Sol-Cautes-Oceanus (6) on the left and Luna-Cauto-

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1) *Cf.* a similar position of two heads in the lower corners on the relief from London, *CIMRM* I, no 810; but these represent the winged heads of the two Winds.

2) See also the description in *CIMRM* I, no 181. The present horns, however, are like the pincers of a lobster, *cf.* the head from Cologne: ***Römer am Rhein***, 1967, 240 no C 182 and Pl. 93 (See Pl. VIII); a similar head on a mosaic found in a pavement of a niche at Bir-Chana (seven kms from Zaghouan in Africa) now at Bardo; *cf.* Du Coudray la Blanchère-P. Gauckler, ***Catalogue des Musées et Collections archéologiques de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie, Musée Alaoui***, I, Paris 1897, 11 no 12 and Pl.: "tête de l'Océan, coiffée de pinces de homard, la barbe finissant en rinceaux décoratifs.". A photograph in colour: G. Caputo-Abdelaziz Driss, ***Tunisia, Ancient Mosaics*** (Unesco World Art Series) New York 1962, Pl. IV: head of Oceanus, from Boutria (Acholla), National Museum, Le Bardo, Second cent. A.D.

3) *CIMRM* I, no 813. For parallels and his connections with Caelus, see Vermaseren-van Essen, 131 ff. Caelus, Tellus and Oceanus figure on the reverse of the Dieburg relief, *CIMRM* II, no 1247. The Oceanus from Merida, *CIMRM* I, no 778, is published again by A. García y Bellido, ***Les religions orientales dans l'Espagne romaine***, Leyden 1967, 31 ff no 12.

4) Heddernheim: *CIMRM* II, no 1127; *cf.* Oceanus below the rock-birth at Florence: *CIMRM* I, no 666; G. A. Mansuelli, ***Galleria degli Uffizi, Le Sculture I***, Roma 1958, 182 f no 172 and Pl.

5) LeRoy Campbell, 41.

6) Oceanus looking towards Cautes on a lost painting from the Baths of Trajan in Rome, *CIMRM* I, no 337.

pates-Terra on the right. And so Oceanus could be connected with both Cautes (Capua) and Cautopates (Heddernheim): Cautopates was moreover related to Terra and Cautes to Caelus. One could therefore suppose that there certainly existed one general doctrine in Mithraism about the generative powers of the elements, but that in local traditions or variations the theories could be expressed in a different and undogmatic manner. In some Mithraea therefore special attention is paid to Oceanus and Caelus without any thought of their relationship to the torch-bearers. In Dieburg [1]) Caelus-Oceanus-Tellus are represented below the unique scene of Phaeton-Heliodromus without any direct relationship either to the tauroctony or to the birth from the rock. There are—to speak in a more general way—among the many Mithraea some sanctuaries where the symbolism has clearly been thought out by well-instructed and intellectual Fathers (*patres*), and it is these that deserve our special attention in our investigation into the inner religious feelings of the adepts of the Iranian god. To these temples belongs the one at Capua.

The opposite, east wall of the Mithraeum has on its upper part next to the vault a large fresco of Luna contained in an arched frame formed by thick, dark-red lines. Two horses [2]), one dark brown and one light brown, draw the *biga* slowly downwards guided by the reins of the goddess. The left horse lifts his head up and it seems that he is looking back towards his driver. The artist so conceived his creation that the goddess seems to be gradually disappearing into the clouds and is only visible from behind. And so her young and tender body does not reveal its secrets and the more so as a transparent veil, which like another cloud is blown upwards by soft winds, is covering her from the hips. She wears her brown hair in a bun and it seems that this is decorated at the front with a precious diadem. In her outstretched left hand she holds a small whip and

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1) *CIMRM* II, no 1247 and fig. 324.

2) *Cf.* LeRoy Campbell, 161 f: "these two horses probably represent opposite notions of the soul in *Genesis* and *Apogenesis*" and he refers to Plato, *Phaedrus*, 246. See Pl. XI.

with her right hand she carefully guides the obedient animals. Of the chariot only one wheel with four spokes and a triangular step, both painted red, are visible. Immediately above the arch and outside the sphere of Luna's planet the stars are shining in the firmament. Once more the painter of the second period in the Capuan Mithraeum shows himself original and deeply inspired by the subject he had to represent. The Moon goddess being carried away by her horses into the darkness is unique in Mithraic art and as far as I know in the whole of Roman art. It is equally exceptional for a separate painting to be devoted to her in a Mithraic sanctuary. The representation of Luna in a chariot always occurs on tauroctones, sometimes in an abbreviated form [1]. The chariot is either drawn by horses or by oxen and is found over the whole Empire, though there are only few examples showing Luna standing in a *biga* with the horses complete. To this small group belong the *biga* on the relief in the possession of the present author (Pl. XII, 1), the now lost relief from the Collection Ottavio Zeno in Rome (CIMRM I, no 335), on both of which the wheels have eight spokes, the relief from Mithraeum I at Heddernheim (CIMRM I, no 1083, front), and a relief from Neuenheim (CIMRM II, no 1283). None of these sculptures have any direct connection with the fresco at Capua. The goddess is often looking backwards, the horses are galloping and the chariot is nearly always descending—sometimes in steep descent in contrast with the upwards progression of Sol's *quadriga*. Whereas Sol and Luna, when represented as busts in the upper corners of the tauroctone, are often directly interested and take part in the heroic deed of Mithras, in their chariots they function as the two principal planets only. Placed above the torchbearers they emphasize the daily and the life cycles. I am not sure that this doctrine in Mithraism has an Iranian background as LeRoy Campbell suggests. Anyway, in creating a special portrait of Luna on the east wall and not on the west wall (in the scene of the bull-killing she faces the north wall!) opposite Mithras, the painter has underlined still more emphatically the solar character of the invincible god.

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[1] A complete list in LeRoy Campbell, 139 f, to which is to be added the stucco in Ponza (see *Mithriaca, II*). The relief mentioned by LeRoy Campbell, 140 n. 65a has now been published in *Hommages à Marcel Renard* III = *Latomus* 103, 1969, 643 ff and Pls CCXXX-CCXXXII. Luna in *biga* drawn by two horses on a relief from the Dolichenum on the Aventine. The goddess drives her chariot downwards: *CIMRM* I, no 468. The photograph (See Pl. XII, 2) has been published with kind permission of Carlo Pietrangeli.

On the same wall (*f*) below Luna and towards the entrance one is able to discern the traces of a tall standing figure represented *en face*. He has short hair and wears a red cap and clothing. The legs and the sandals, which are decorated on the upper sides, are clearly visible.

The north wall (*e*) is divided into five large panels, each bordered with broad, dark-red stripes. In corner *e-f* and in panel I (W. 2.54 m) a tall standing person [1]) is represented *en face* (Pl. XIII). His head and face painted in red are damaged, and it is uncertain whether he is wearing a cap. He wears a short, red tunic and a long, dark-blue cloak. In his right outstretched hand he holds a red flaming torch upwards. In his left hand he carries a dark-blue globe. Who is this person, who completely differs from the style of Mithras and Luna? The only immediately comparable figure is represented on a fresco in the Mithraeum of the Baths of Caracalla in Rome [2]) (See Pl. XIV). This fresco is on the inside wall of a red-coloured niche above the right bench. The figure is dressed in a purple *tunica manicata* and *anaxyrides*. He wears a purple tiara; his face, on which are traces of red paint, is badly damaged. He holds in his left hand a large bright-blue globe. The other hand is stretched out over a kind of base (small altar), above which a greenish undefinable object is visible. As to this latter gesture, the attitude of this person in Rome should be compared with Cautes and Cautopates in the Capuan Mithraeum where they are represented, the former in panel II of the right wall and the latter in panel I of the left wall (See below). Both hold a torch above a burning altar. But in the whole of Mithraic iconography there is not a single torch-bearer holding a globe. On the other hand, Mithras himself carries a globe at the moment of his birth [3]) and afterwards when he is hunting [4]), but in the latter

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1) Erroneously described in *CIMRM* I, no 185 as an Aion (?).

2) *CIMRM* I, no 459 and fig. 127 and interpreted as Mithras. J. Leipoldt, *Umwelt des Urchristentums*, III, Berlin 1967, Pl. 120: "Mithras mit Sonne im Leib".

3) *CIMRM* I, no 985 (Trèves); *CIMRM* II, no 1283, 10 (Neuenheim).

4) *CIMRM* II, no 1289 (Neuenheim).

case does not have a torch. Nor are the figures in the Mithraeum at Capua and in the Baths of Caracalla comparable with the one in the red tunic who has torches in his outstretched hands. This figure forms part of a procession on the lower layer of frescoes in the Sª Prisca Mithraeum [1]). Yet in Mithraism there is still another person carrying a globe, i.e. Sol [2]), and his representative on earth the Heliodromus. He was depicted by the painter of the second layer of the Sª Prisca Mithraeum on the Aventine in both forms. When, as Sol-Helios he is reclining in a long red garment together with his companion Mithras at the sacred repast [3]) and on that occasion under the influence of wine fails into ecstasy, he still holds the blue globe in his outstretched left hand. On the opposite wall the Heliodromus [4]), in a long red garment, is greeting the Father, seated on a throne before him. Like Sol he carried a bright-blue globe. But in neither case does he wear a tiara, his head being surrounded by a nimbus and radiant crown, nor does he hold a torch.

This makes it difficult to decide whether we are dealing with Mithras, Cautes, or Sol (Heliodromus). There is a bronze figurine [5]) found in the Rhine near Bingerbrück (Pl. XV) which is most interesting for the question under consideration. A standing Cautes, recognizable from his crossed legs and from the upraised flaming torch he holds with both hands, seems to be holding in his left hand a small oval object, which has a horizontal groove around its middle. One is inclined to interpret this object as a globe since the whole figure has been made in a primitive way. Still I hesitate to base the interpretation of the figure in Capua on this little bronze [6]). Indeed, the most plausible interpretation is that the fresco at Capua represents Sol-Heliodromus (the other figure on the wall *f* could then be explained as Pater) without his cap; nor is it impossible that Mithras as bringer of light should hold a torch uplifted. But then the altar on the fresco in the Baths of Caracalla does not fit

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1) Vermaseren-van Essen, 166,6.

2) See *CIMRM*, index *s.v.* Sol, globe (e.g. I, no 354).

3) Vermaseren-van Essen, 150, 9b.

4) Vermaseren-van Essen, 156, 3; 159.

5) *CIMRM* II, no 1035 and fig. 267.

6) Moreover there arises the difficulty that Cautes would then have been represented in two adjacent panels (Panel I-II).

in with this theory, since Mithras does not belong to the category of the *Opferende Götter* [1]). The only solution would be to consider this figure a Pater as the representative of Mithras [2]), recalling the two representations of the same *archigallus* in Porto, in one of which he is offering on a little altar before Cybele (the statue is here flanked by two torches [3])), and in the other he is venerating Attis' statue while holding flaming torches in his hands [4]).

Our conclusion is that in the Baths of Caracalla it is a *Pater* that is represented and in Capua a *Heliodromus* of the Mithraic community (See also p. 50).

In panel II (W. 2.01 m) between two laurels which together form an arch Cautes [5]) is standing cross-legged (Pl. XVI). He is wearing a red tiara with long flaps, a girt *tunica manicata, anaxyrides* and a long cloak. This garment is bordered with dark-green piping. At his right side is a flaming altar [6]), and a cock is seated at the other side in a shadowy green field. He holds a flaming torch in his upraised right hand and with his left hand he points a bundle of twigs (*baresman*) downwards [7]). The representation is peculiar in many respects and may be considered unique. To begin with, one should note that Cautes here stands on the right side of the Mithraeum (while in the tauroctone scene he is standing on the left) i.e., his position [8]) is the same as that in other Mithraea (e.g. at Marino).

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1) Erika Simon, *Opferende Götter*, Berlin 1953.

2) A priest pouring a libation of incense onto an altar (*CIMRM* II, no 1275, Lopodunum).

3) Lastly Maria Floriani-Squarciapino, *I culti orientali ad Ostia*, Leyden 1962, 14.

4) Maria Floriani-Squarciapino, 14; M. J. Vermaseren, *Legend of Attis*, 15. See the grade-bearer, probably a lion, in Sa Prisca: above p. 17.

5) LeRoy Campbell, 36.

6) *Cautes near an altar*: a fragment of a relief in sandstone (H.0.40), which was found in 1964 in a quarry at Dyo (Saône-et-Loire), shows Cautes standing near a pedestal or altar (*La Physiophile* 61, Dec. 1964, 44 where Cautes is said to be kneeling). More information will be given in *CIMRM* III.

7) One recalls here the relief from Dascylium: Cumont, *Rel. or.*^{4}, 135, fig. 10; Mendel, *Cat. Sculpt.*, III, 570 ff; Picard, *Sculpt. Ant.*, 199, fig. 54; Nilsson, *GR* II, Taf. 15, 2; E. Akurgal, *Kunst der Hethiter*, Munich 1961, Pl.; in general E. Akurgal, *Griechisch-persische Reliefs aus Daskyleion* in *Mél. Ghirshman*, I = *Iranica Antiqua* VI, 1966.

8) See *Mithriaca, II*, where all other examples are enumerated; *cf.* also LeRoy Campbell.

The flaming torch and the bundle of twigs point in opposite directions; in the Danubian provinces [1]) the Cautes on the tauroctones sometimes holds two torches pointed in the same direction. The tree is in full leaf, but on a relief from the Esquiline [2]) the tree next to Cautes seems to be barren; other trees on Mithraic reliefs connect the torch-bearers with certain signs of the Zodiac, so that LeRoy Campbell concludes that "the fully fruited tree and the dying bull belong to Cautopates, while the barren tree and the dead bull belong to Cautes. To Cautes belongs also the cock [3]) as the herald of the new-born light and awakening life".

In panel III (W. 2.00 m) three figures in orange-yellow garments can vaguely be seen [4]). Their outlines are faded and they clearly belong to a different period from the frescoes of Mithras tauroctone and of Luna in her chariot. At the left of the panel a tall standing figure is visible towards the right. He is painted on a higher level than the other two persons on that side so that his head appears above the upper horizontal dark red border of the panel. Only part of his face is preserved; he is looking towards the spectator; it is not clear whether he wears a cap and has a short beard. His dress consists of a tunic, a cloak, and *anaxyrides*. He holds in his two hands a light object which itself is not visible since it is covered by a veil; the figure has his right hand upon it. All of this makes him akin to the *leo Gelasius* [5]), who in the upper layer of frescoes on the left wall in the Sa Prisca Mithraeum is moving towards the sacred repast of Mithras and Sol (the *Pater* and the *Heliodromus*) with other Lions in procession. Gelasius (See Pl. XVIII) bears a

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1) *CIMRM* II, nos 1958; 1972; 2036.

2) *CIMRM* I, no 350. *Cf.* no 635 and fig. 176b.

3) *Cf.* Cautes with the cock in Sa Prisca: Vermaseren-van Essen, 341 no 19 and Pl. LXXVI; originally this statue was a Mercury and was later on plastered. LeRoy Campbell, p. 36 remarks: "the lower body and genitals of Mercury-Cautes were originally exposed, as were the genitals of Mithra-Attis of the Panticapaeum tauroctones". It is however unlikely that the statue was already in the Mithraeum in period I (see the restorations). For the symbolism see Bidez-Cumont, *Mag. hell.*, I, 75 n. 11; Cumont, *Lux perpetua*, index *s.v.* coq. In Christian hymns: G. van der Leeuw, *Gallicinium* in *Med. Ned. Ak. Wet.* (*Afd. Letterkunde, N.R.* 4 *no* 19), Amsterdam 1941.

4) The scene was not noticed by Minto. See Pl. XVII and p. 49.

5) Vermaseren-van Essen, 149 no 3.

loaf or cake in a glass vessel; it may be that the figure in panel III at Capua is also a *leo* who is carrying a cake here covered with a veil or a part of his cloak. It also looks as though he is doing this *manibus velatis* [1]; it is therefore more likely that the cake is here not lying in a vessel. In Capua also the standing figure stands before Mithras and Sol reclining. Of Mithras (or the Father) one can see the outlines of the cap with two long flaps; the face is badly damaged (but was clearly painted "full-face")—a great part of his dress is preserved. At his left hand the outlines of Sol (or the Heliodromus) are visible; both his head and dress with brown stripes are more easily discernable. He wears a circular *fibula* and he has his head turned towards Mithras. Neither the couch nor the table is visible.

The scene of the repast [2] held by Mithras and Sol before ascending to heaven is in Mithraism the most important after that of the tauroctony. In Heddernheim and Rückingen [3] the scene is to be found on the reverse of the relief of Mithras as bullslayer. There is a single instance of the meal occurring on a terra sigillata dish (Trèves) which must certainly have been used during the ceremonies in the sanctuary [4]. It should be noted that it is unusual in that the Iranian god is reclining at Sol's right, but the representations at Treves and Heddernheim are identical in this respect. The artists did not always clearly distinguish between the meal of the two gods giving the divine example and that of their earthly followers. On the relief of Fiano Romano [5], where the meal is once again repre-

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1) A. Dieterich, *Der Ritus der verhüllten Hände* in *Kleine Schriften*, Leipzig-Berlin 1911, 440-448. For the relief of the Isis procession see now: Helbig, *Führer* I^4, 1963, 338 no 491; Vermaseren in *The Crucible of Christianity*, London 1969, 238. *Cf.* also Fr. Cumont, *L'adoration des Mages* in *MPAA* (S. 2) III, 1932, 81-105.

2) For the monuments with this scene see *CIMRM*, index *s.v.* Mithras at the repast; for the fresco in the S^a Prisca: Vermaseren-van Essen, 152 ff; *cf.* Vermaseren, *Mithras, Geschichte eines Kultes*, Stuttgart 1965, 78 ff; LeRoy Campbell, 316 ff. To the series is to be added a relief from Lopodunum (Ladenburg) in Germany (about 135 A. D.): *Römer am Rhein*, 1967, 346 no A 187 the original of which is in the Lobdengau Museum at Ladenburg.

3) Heddernheim: *CIMRM* II, no 1083 and fig. 275; Rückingen: *CIMRM* II, no 1137 and fig. 297.

4) Trèves: *CIMRM* I, no 988 and fig. 238; *Römer am Rhein*, 291 no E 81 and Pl. 108.

5) *CIMRM* I, no 641 and fig. 180; *cf.* the relief from Konjic (*CIMRM* II, no 1896) on the reverse of which the Pater reclines at Sol's right side.

sented on the obverse of a tauroctone, the torch-bearers are present at the repast as attendants. Sometimes the gods are served by earthly persons. Generally two figures, one on either side of the reclining friends, appear as attendants serving bread and wine. However, on the Capuan fresco there is only one attendant, who is not really offering the loaf or cake but is carrying it to the two guests. Under his feet and at a level that was later covered by the podium there are some thin bright-red lines forming the outline of a tree-trunk (Fig. 3). At the right side of this trunk are two undefinable objects (syrinx ?). Some similar thin red lines are painted behind the shoulders of the cake-bearer.

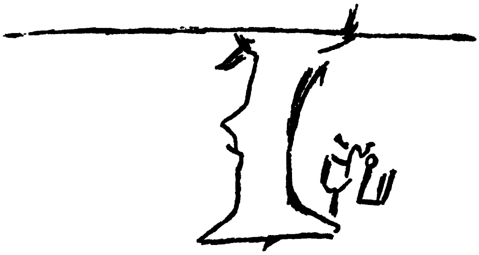

Fig. 3

Panel IV (W. 3.40 m) is only indicated by dark-red bordering and is blank. Before it is the deep basin, which on its left side is protected by a small raised partition built into the podium. Then follows in the low bench another circular pit; both the bench and the partition wall are coloured red.

Panel V (W. 1.76 m) which begins by the raised podium of the cult niche is also without any representation.

The left side wall (*g*) is shorter than the right wall (*e*) on account of the entrance; yet it also is divided by dark-red lines into five panels. The background of these panels is coloured blue except in panel I.

In panel I (W. 1.70 m.), which has a white background, Cautopates (See Pl. XIX) is standing between two laurel trees, the upper parts of which above the horizontal dark-red border form an arch. It should be noted that as on the panel with Cautes on the opposite wall the leaves have been painted over this border. Cautopates is standing cross-legged and has the same dress as his companion (red with dark-green piping and a yellow baldric). His *tunica manicata* has below the elbows a decoration of bracelets and—like Mithras' dress—its lower edge is bordered with embroidered golden stripes. With his outstretched right hand he holds a flaming red torch pointed downwards above a burning altar; in his upraised left hand he holds a thin staff on which, just above his forefinger, a little curved hook is visible. And so he is not holding a bunch of twigs—as has been stated in earlier publications [1])—but a *harpè* or *falx*. In Mithraic art the sickle is the usual attribute of Saturn, as on the relief from Nersae [2]), since he is patron of the harvest that Mithras bestows by killing the bull. In this unique representation of Cautopates raising his sickle amid the leaves of the laurel tree, the characteristic attribute of the torch-bearer of dawning light now becomes that of a divine reaper of the new vegetation. At the same time the artist underlines his close relationship as a substitute with Mithras himself, who in his turn is the young and new Saturn, who is often definitely identified with Kronos-Chronos and Aion [3]).

Panel II (W. 1.95 m) contains nothing to remark on. In panel III (W. 1.50 m) however a white relief (H. 0.32 m, W. 0.358 m) is inserted above the water basin in the podium (See Pl. XX). The

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1) Also in *CIMRM* I, no 183.

2) Nersae: *CIMRM* I, no 650 and fig. 181.

3) For this theory see Vermaseren-van Essen, 180. The Father is placed under the protection of Saturn, hence the sickle belongs to his attributes (*CIMRM* I, no 299, 11): see now a good detail in S. Laeuchli, *Mithraism in Ostia* (Garret Theological Studies, 1), 1967, 81, Pl. 28. On the same floor mosaic the Perses has as attribute a *falx* identical with that of Cautopates in the Capuan fresco (*CIMRM* I, no 299, 9; Laeuchli, 79, Pl. 26). Although the Perses is placed under the *tutela* of the moon, just as Cautopates with the torch downwards is often placed under Luna, it is not certain that the Perses in the ceremonies played the role of Cautopates. According to this theory, the Heliodromus, under the protection of Sol would consequently have been identified with Cautes. In the seven grades we then have the following identifications:
Mithras-Pater-Saturnus
Sol/Cautes-Heliodromus-Sol
Luna/Cautopates-Perses-Luna
-Leo-Jupiter
-miles-Mars
-nymphus-Venus
Raven-corax-Mercury

relief which was carefully framed with a red border, represents [1]) a nude winged child Eros with a flaming torch in his outstretched left hand. With his right hand he takes Psyche under one arm to lead her away [2]). She is wearing a long diaphanous dress the hem of which she is holding in her right hand. She has on her shoulders delicate wings like those of a butterfly [3]). It is remarkable that a marble group of Eros and Psyche has been found in the Iseum at Savaria also [4]). This means that in the Mithraic and Isaic mysteries, as in Christian art [5]), the two children have a symbolic meaning: the soul is illuminated and guided by Eros on its journey to the hereafter. This is the reason that both often occur on funeral monuments.

In the panels IV and V (W. 3.50 m) there is only a graffito at the beginning of the cult-niche (Fig. 4): the height of the letters

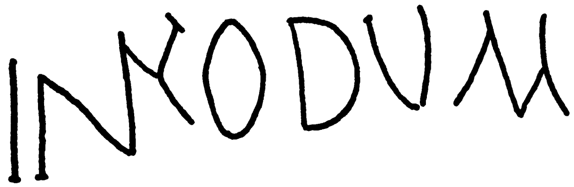

Fig. 4

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1) *CIMRM* I, no 186 with fig. 56.

2) The gesture reminds one of the representations of the journey to the underworld (Eurydice, Alcestis), but is much older e.g. a seal of Gudea (± 2100 B. C.) in C. Frank, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Kunst* (*Kunstgeschichte in Bilder*, I), Leipzig s.d., Pl. 48, 10.

3) A. Furtwängler in Roscher *s.v.* Eros, *col.* 1371; *Cf.* Cumont, *Symb. fun.*, 346.

4) Savaria: T. Szentéleky, *A Szembathelyi Isis-Szentély*, 1960, 33.

5) *Mithraism*: Minto, 367; Cumont in *CRAI* 1924, 113 ff; R. Reitzenstein, *Noch einmal Eros und Psyche* in *ARW* 28, 1930, 42-87 and Pl. IV, 15 (relief from Capua); especially pp 69 f: "Nichts deutet auf ein Liebespaar: die Menschenseele soll von dem ἔρως οὐράνιος (vgl. Philo, *De vit. cont.*, c. 10 ὑπ' ἔρωτος οὐρανίου ἁρπασθέντες) den schweren Weg durch das Erdendunkel zur Erlösung geführt werden." *Isis*: H. Wagenvoort, *Apuleius' sprookje van Amor en Psyche* in *Jb Kon. Ned. Ak. Wet.* 1953-1954, 243 ff; R. Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike*, München-Berlin 1962; *Christian art*: painting in the Catacombs of Domitilla in Venturi, *Storia dell' arte* I, 9 fig. 6; Testini, *Catacombe*, 270 and fig. 113. *Funeral art*: Cumont, *Symb. fun.*, 319; 324. The group of Amor and Psyche (Vermaseren-van Essen, 478 no 275) is not found in the Mithraeum proper. In general: G. Binder-R. Merkelbach, *Amor und Psyche*, Darmstadt 1968.

is 0.035-0.025 m. This graffito reads not MODUM, as stated in previous publications [1]), but INYODUM which makes no sense unless one sees in it a barbarous Latin-Greek contamination for εἴσοδος which together with the word ἔξοδος occurs on a column at the left front of the Mithraeum at Dura-Europos [2]). But is seems to me that accepting this interpretation of the graffito involves too liberal an interpretation of the laws of epigraphy.

On the front of both benches, which were lengthened at a latter period, there are frescoes with scenes of initiation into the mysteries (See Fig. 5) [3]). Except for some data furnished mainly by Christian—and thus not always objective—authors, these paintings are the only extant source of information about these secrets [4]). The figures are taller than normal and the painter seems to have been influenced by the shadows on the walls of the half-lit sanctuary [5]),

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1) Minto, 358; *CIMRM* I, no 180.

2) *CIMRM* I, no 66; LeRoy Campbell, 295: "These words may have had reference to the beginning and ending point of the ritual performance." Other parallels (*cf.* Vermaseren-van Essen, 197):

a) on the mosaic pavement near the entrance of the Basilica Hilariana: CIL VI, 30973 = Dessau 3992 *Intrantibus hic deos/propitios et Basilic(ae)/Hilarianae. Cf.* A. M. Colini, *Storia e Topografia del Celio nell' Antichità* in *MPAA* (S III vol. VII), 1944, 284 and E. Nash, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Rom*, I, Tübingen 1961, 183 ff *s.v.* Basilica Hilariana.

b) In the Metroon at Delos *cf.* lastly R. Vallois, *L'architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos jusqu' à l'éviction des Déliens* (166 *av. J.-C.*), I, *Les monuments*, Paris 1944, 87, δεξιᾶς εἰσιόντων and ἀριστερᾷ εἰσιόντων. These inscriptions will be published again in Vermaseren, *CCCA* (*Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque*).

3) Minto, 368 ff; *CIMRM* I, nos 187-197; LeRoy Campbell, 294 ff. The scenes have never before been reproduced in colour, hence the many mistakes in the various descriptions. See also Leipoldt, *Umwelt*, III, figs 124-126: "Tapferkeitsproben".

4) Tertullian, *Apol.*, VII, 6: *Immo a quibus probi potuit? Ab ipsis enim reis non utique, cum vel ex forma omnium silentii fides debeatur.* See also Th. Hopfner in PWRE *s.v.* Mysteriën, col. 1342 ff.

5) So called by Tertullian, *De corona*, 15 a *vere castra tenebrarum*; Firmicus Maternus, *De errore prof. rel.*, 5, 2 *obscuro tenebrarum squalore submersi*; (p. 51 *ed.* G. Heuten; p. 46 *ed.* K. Ziegler; *cf.* Bidez-Cumont, *Mag. hell.*, II, p. 153 fr. 0 q. partim § 2); *cf.* 19, 1 *in tenebras squaloresque proiectus es*; Paulinus from Nola, *Carmina*, 32, 112 f. The *castra tenebrarum* are in opposition to the *castra lucis*: Tertullian, *De idolatria*, XIX, 2; *cf.* P. G. van der Nat, *Q. S. F.*

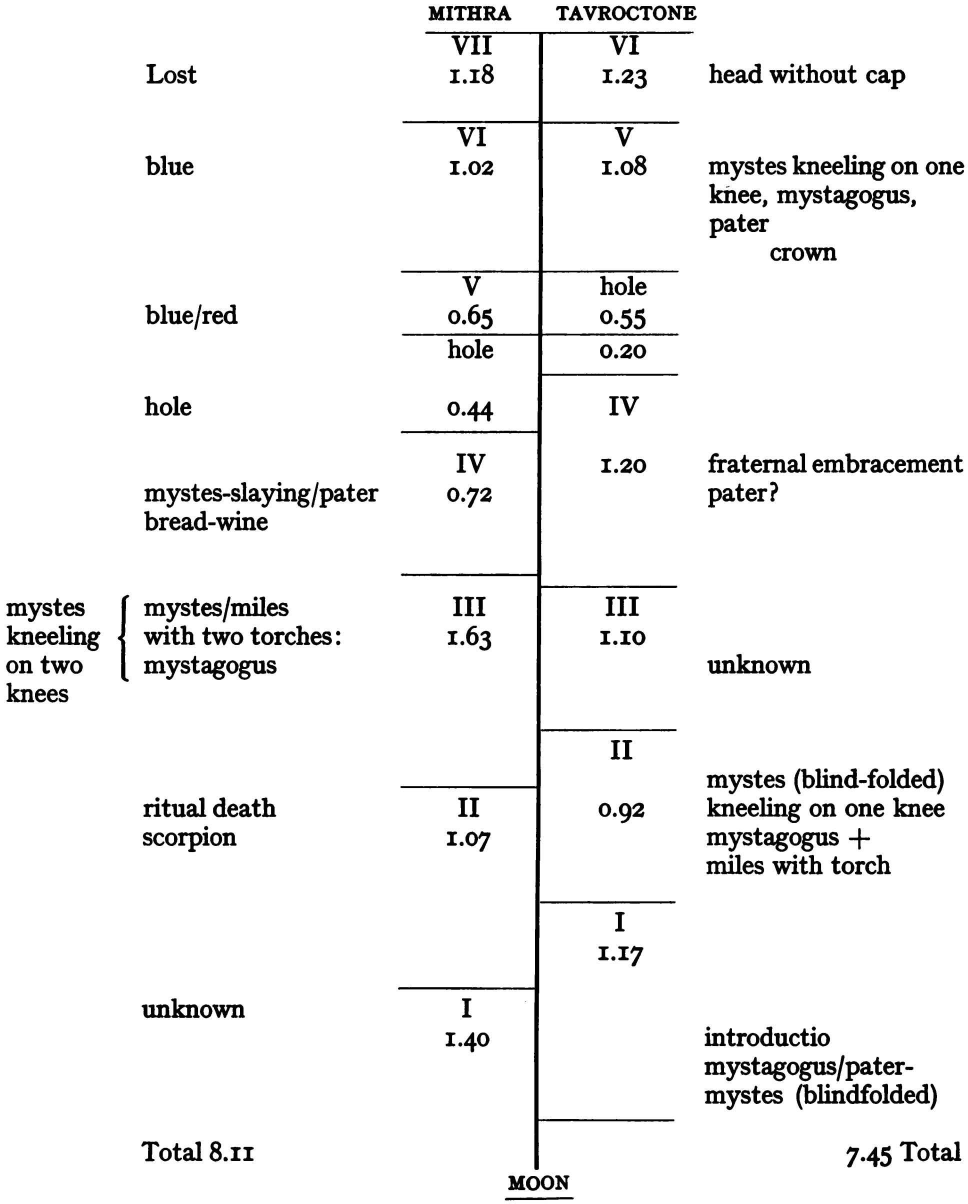
MITHRA
TAVROCTONE
Lost
VII
1.18
VI
1.23
head without cap
blue
VI
1.02
V
1.08
mystes kneeling on one knee, mystagogus, pater
crown
blue/red
V
0.65
hole
0.55
hole
0.20
hole
0.44
IV
IV
0.72
1.20
fraternal embracement
pater?
mystes-slaying/pater
bread-wine
mystes kneeling on two knees
mystes/miles with two torches: mystagogus
III
1.63
III
1.10
unknown
II
mystes (blind-folded) kneeling on one knee
mystagogus +
miles with torch
ritual death
scorpion
II
1.07
0.92
I
1.17
unknown
I
1.40
introductio
mystagogus/pater-
mystes (blindfolded)
Total 8.11
7.45 Total
MOON

Fig. 5

which would have resembled a galanty show. These frescoes are consequently very precious and their interpretation very difficult. After many centuries these strange paintings make it possible for us to assist though from a great distance at the awful ceremonies that took place in this sanctuary at Capua and elsewhere. Awful indeed, since each author of antiquity describes the Mithraic initiation in more frightening terms than his predecessors [1].

In panel I (W. 1.17 m) of the right bench near the entrance a naked man (his body is coloured red) is walking in the direction of the cult-niche (See Pl. XXI). He is being pushed forwards by a much taller person who wears a short white tunic and a shoulder cape with red stripes. His height expresses his greater importance as mystagogue. Since he seems to have a small pointed beard [2] he may be either the *Pater* (a cap however is not visible) or an initiate of a lower grade. The *mystes* however has a blindfold over his eyes and he is therefore groping forwards with outstretched hands [3]. He is naked and helpless like a new-born child [4] who is not yet allowed to see the true mysteries and who is therefore introduced blindfold [5] into the *speleum*. The scene is comparable with one of the stuccoes in the Farnesina, where a priestess is introducing a child to be initiated into the mysteries of Dionysus. The boy's head

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Tertulliani De idolatria, Leiden 1960 and *De corona* XI, 4; *cf.* J. Fontaine, *Tertullien. Sur la couronne*, Paris 1966. See also W. Rordorf, *Tertullians Beurteilung des Soldatenstandes*, in *Vig. Chr.* 23, 1969, 105-141, especially 117, 133. R. MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1963; J. Fontaine, *Les chrétiens et le service militaire dans l'Antiquité* in *Concilium* VII, 1965, 95-105.

1) *Cf.* Vermaseren, *Mithras*, 105 ff.

2) *Cf.* the Magi in the Mithraeum of Dura: *CIMRM* I, no 44; a reproduction in colour of one of them in A. Grabar, *The Beginnings of Christian Art*, London 1967, Pl. 65. Without beard but with cap in S^a Prisca: Vermaseren-van Essen, 155.

3) LeRoy Campbell, 296 is of the opinion that the *mystes* has his hands bound together, but this owing to deceptive damage to the painting.

4) The comparison with naked children (who have to suck milk etc.) is known from other mystery-cults: J. Heckenbach, *De nuditate sacra sacrisque vinculis* (RGVV IX, 3), Giessen 1911.

5) Pseudo-Augustine, *Quaest. Vet. Nov. Test.*, CXIV, 11 (Migne, *P.L.* XXXIV, 2214): *illud autem quale est, quod in speleo velatis oculis inluduntur. Ne enim horreant dehonestari, oculi illis velantur.* Ambrosiaster, *Comm. in epist. ad Ephes.*, V, 8 (Migne, *P.L.* XVII, 396 A): *Pagani in tenebris mystica sua celebrantes in spelaeo velatis oculis illuduntur.*

is covered with a cloth [1]) and he is carrying a long thyrsus—the young *mystes*, however, in Capua has no attributes. It is still the custom in certain secret societies for a new member to be solemnly introduced by some dignitary who walks at his left side; here in Capua the *mystes* has the honour of being introduced by the Father himself. The great distance between the *mystes* and *mystagogus* is remarkable since the *initiandus* is apparently being pushed forward. The name of this ceremony is not known from the Mithraic texts, but in the mysteries of Sabazius *inductio* seems to be the proper term. Next to the tomb of Vincentius, priest of Sabazius (= the Thraco-Phrygian Dionysus) in the catacombs of Praetextatus [2]), a fresco shows Vibia being introduced into the Elysian Fields by her *angelus bonus*, where she will later on take part in the repast with the *bonorum iuducio iudicati*. In the gateway above, which has the form of a triumphal arch, the words *inductio Vibies* are written; Vibia enters the abode of the blessed with fear and trembling but she is encouraged by the guardian angel at her right hand. The young adept who is being introduced into the *speleum* is beginning an *initium* leading step by step from lower to higher ranks as a preparation for his journey from the lower to the higher spheres towards the heavenly light of Mithras, the Sun-god.

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1) Fr. Matz, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑΚΗ ΤΕΛΕΤΗ in *Ak. Wiss. Mainz* (*Geistes- und Sozialwiss. Kl.*, 15) 1963, 1392 no 2 and Pl. 8. See also Cumont, *Rel. Or.*^{4}, Pl. XVI and the veiled children on a glass vessel in Florence (Matz, 1392 no 9 = Cumont, *Rel. Or.*^{4}, 202, fig. 13).

2) G. Wilpert, *Le pitture delle catacombe romane*, Roma 1903, II, Pls 132-133; Cumont, *Rel. Or.*^{4}, 61 and fig. 3 remarks that no one has yet explained satisfactorily the fact of Vincentius' grave being in the Christian catacombs. The hypogeum is not mentioned at all in O. Marucchi, *Le catacombe romane*, Roma 1933, but is well published in C. Cecchelli, *Monumenti cristiano-eretici di Roma*, Roma 1944, 167-180 and Pls XXXIV-XXXIX who is of the opinion that the hypogeum Sabaziasticum "nulla ha a che fare con la catacomba di Pretestato" (*cf.* E. Josi in *RAC* IV, 1927, 191-255 especially 214). More recent bibliography: Fr. Cumont, *Lux perpetua*, Paris 1949, 257 and fig. 7, who rightly observes that the piety of these followers of Sabazius "s'accommodait d'une morale complaisante" (*cf.* CIL VI, 142 = CE 317: *qui basia, voluptatem, iocum alumnis suis dedit*); A. Ferrua in *Actes du V*^{e} *Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne à Aix-en-Provence, 1954*, Vatican City 1957, 151; P. Testini, *Le catacombe e gli antichi cimiteri cristiani in Roma*, Bologna 1966, 152 and fig. 50, who dates (p. 294) the frescoes between the 312-315 A.D. i.e. contemporaneous with the Arch of Constantine; A. Grabar, *The Beginnings of the Christian Art*, London 1967, fig. 245 (in colour).

Panel II (W. 0.92 m) shows once again the blindfolded and naked *alumnus* (Pl. XXII) with his *magister* behind him [1]. The *mystes* is kneeling on his right knee; his hands are tied behind his back. Pseudo-Augustine tells that the cords used for this were made of chicken gut [2]. The *mystagogus* seems to be the same as in the previous panel since he is clad in a short white tunic and a shoulder cape bordered with red. His head is now better visible. He seems to have a ring beard and moustache; he gazes sternly at the neophyte before him; he wears no cap. He carries no attribute in his left hand and with the outstretched right hand he touches the back of the other's head. Before the kneeling *mystes*, whose initiation has now begun is a figure "in full stride". He is clad in a red tunic, a billowing red cape and red helmet [3], the crest of which is also red. He too has a ring beard and moustache. His right hand is not visible, it is possible that it is concealed by his cape, but in his outstretched left hand he holds a flaming torch near the head of the *mystes*. This person who is subjecting the *mystes* to a fire test, is certainly a *miles*, who in the Sa Prisca Mithraeum [4] is placed under the protection of Mars and whose attribute at Ostia is a helmet [5].

There is only one monument in Mithraic art, showing a similar scene [6]. It is a marble base, which may have been found at Velletri [7], and was preserved there at first in the Villa Negroni and afterwards in the Museo Borgia; for the last century its whereabouts have been unknown [8]. The base was sculptured on three sides. On the right side was a naked man kneeling on his right knee; he holds his left hand against his hip and he stretches out his right hand

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1) The description in *CIMRM* I, no 188 is inaccurate; Minto as well as LeRoy Campbell say that the *mystes* is sitting instead of kneeling.

2) Pseudo-Augustine, *Quaest. Vet. Nov. Test.*, CXIV, 11: *ligatis manibus intestinis pullinis*.

3) Not a Phrygian cap as has been generally accepted, and thus not the Mithra-Pater.

4) Vermaseren-van Essen, 157 with a military bag.

5) *CIMRM* I, no 299, 7; now Laeuchli, *Mithraism in Ostia*, Pl. 24: helmet with high crest, bag, lance.

6) *CIMRM* I, no 609.

7) *Cf. CIMRM* I, no 208 and fig. 67.

8) Last description in F. Welcker, *Georg Zoega's Abhandlungen*, Göttingen 1817, 148 no 5 b and 207 ff (*cf.* Cumont, *MMM* II, 222 no 55).

towards a beardless person, who is standing before him clad in eastern dress. This figure holds in his right hand a sword and with his outstretched left hand he holds a flaming torch towards the face of the neophyte. Zoega saw initiation rites in these scenes on the base (See also below) but Cumont suggested for the right side a scene of Sol and Mithras; however, recently LeRoy Campbell 1) again rightly connected the scenes with the initiation ceremonies. It would indeed be strange for the initiate during his trial to be already compared with Sol, to whom he will only later ascend. This is also clear from his kneeling attitude and still more from his bound hands.

In ancient and modern times there have always been two forms of kneeling 2): a person kneels either on one knee or on both knees. In the Roman Catholic liturgy both attitudes are used; kneeling on one knee is a momentary act to show veneration for the Sacrament; the faithful kneel on two knees when they are praying 3). In later Christian art one also finds the two attitudes, but without this distinction; in both cases kneeling implies adoration and veneration. In ancient Christian art however the attitude of kneeling on one knee is the more common, and this is in concurrence with ancient art in general, since it is this attitude one usually finds in Assyrian, Persian, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman art. But it must immediately be stated that in the Orient, in Greece, and in the Roman Empire the suppliants, though showing their humility before a mighty god or king, are generally depicted as warriors or prisoners who are to be slaughtered mercilessly 4) by the conqueror of their city

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1) LeRoy Campbell, 293 f.

2) Needless to say the following lines are only superficial remarks. I do not know a monograph about kneeling. See T. Ohm, *Die Gebetsgebärden der Völker und das Christentum*, Leiden 1948. Not in G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst*, Berlin 1965.

3) *genua flectere*: see Thesaurus L. L.

4) See Homer, *Iliad*, 21, 30: δῆσε δ'ὀπίσσω χεῖρας ἐυτμήτοισιν ἱμᾶσι. These *captivi* will be slaughtered by Achilles in honour of Patroclus. *Cf*. Verg., *Aen*., XI, 81 f: *Vinxerat et post terga manus, quos mitteret umbris inferias, caeso sparsuros sanguine flammas*. The literary tradition is confirmed by art. See EAA *s.v*. Achilleus. In Egyptian art: J.-Ph. Lauer-J. Leclant, *Découverte de statues de prisonniers au temple de la Pyramide de Pépi I* in *Rev. Eg*., 21, 1969, 55-62.

or country. The Roman Emperors especially followed the example of these oriental despots who by their cruel monuments had hoped to intimidate their subject peoples for ever [1]). On the Tropaeum Traiani, erected at Adamklissi [2]) in Dacia, on the columns of Trajan [3]) and Marcus Aurelius [4]) at Rome (to mention only the most famous monuments), the *captivi* are portrayed at the moment that they are led before the Emperor by the praetorian guard, or still worse, to the executioner. Metopes XLVI and XLVII from Adamklissi both show a Roman soldier leading two prisoners with their hands bound behind their backs (*manus post terga ligatae*) [5]); metope XLVIII shows a soldier who is pushing forward a single Dacian in irons. This latter scene resembles the Capuan panel I, where, however, the *mystes* is not bound. When the prisoners are kneeling—nearly always on one knee—they are often praying for mercy for themselves and their families [6]); their hands are not usually bound. These barbarians will be either pardoned or slaughtered like a sacrificial animal by the *popa* [7]). From these data it is clear that the

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1) For the idea: F. Noack, *Triumph und Triumphbogen* (Vorträge Bibl. Warburg) 1925-1926; R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* in *Memoirs of the Connecticut Ac. of Arts and Sciences*, XIV, 1963; A. J. Janssen, *Het antieke Tropaion*, Brussels 1957; G. Picard, *Les trophées romains*, Paris 1957.

2) F. B. Florescu, *Monumentul de la Adamklissi*: *Tropaeum Traiani*, Bucarest 1960. See also R. Vulpe-I. Barnea, *Din Istoria Dobrogei*, II, Bucarest 1968, 325 f and figs 36-37.

3) C. Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Trajanssäule*, Berlin, 1896-1900; Nash, Bildlexikon *s.v.* columna Traiani.

4) A. M. Colini-G. Gatti-M. Palottino-P. Romanelli, *La Colonna di Marco Aurelio*, Roma 1955. See also: Inez Scott Ryberg, *Panel Reliefs of Marcus Aurelius*, New York 167, 13, 61 (submissio).

5) See p.32; *cf.* Vell. Paterculus, *Hist. Rom.*, II, 1. 5: *ut nudus ac post tergum religatis manibus dederetur hostibus quem illi recipere se negaverunt, sicut quondam Caudini fecerunt, dicentes publicam violationem fidei non debere unius lui sanguine*. In Mithraic rites: Ps.-Aug., *Quaest. V. N. T.*, CXIV, 11: *ligatis manibus* (See also above p. 28).

6) *Cf.* A. Héron de Villefosse, *Le trésor de Boscoréale*, in *Mon. Piot* V, 1899, Pl.; P. Ducati, *L'Arte in Roma*, Bologna 1938, Pl. LXXXII, 2; H. Kähler, *Rom und seine Welt*, München 1960, Taf. 144. Many examples on coins: a beautiful medal of Constantius Chlorus in Grabar, p. 200, fig. 219 (*cf.* also Inez Scott Ryberg, *Panel Reliefs*, 13).

7) On the reliefs of the sacrifice of the bull the *victimarii* kneeling on one knee press the animal's head towards the ground: Inez Scott Ryberg, *Rites*

kneeling *mystes* on the Capuan panel II belongs to the *captivi*, and the literary sources support this view. We can disregard the text of Gellius[1] in which he refers to Valgius Rufus' deriving *lictor* from the verb *ligare*, since in the Capuan panels there is no trace of a ritual flagellation[2], which, moreover, is not even mentioned by the mythographer Nonnus who speaks of no fewer than eighty trials the Mithraist has to undergo before being initiated[3]. Interesting in this respect is the version in Ovid's Metamorphoses of the story of Pentheus' resistance to the introduction of Bacchus' cult into Thebes. He orders his servants to bring Bacchus before him[4]. They return blood-stained and do not bring the god himself as a *captivus* but one of his followers named Acoetes[5]:

> *hunc, dixere, tamen comitem famulumque sacrorum*
> *cepimus, et tradunt manibus post terga ligatis*
> *sacra dei quondam Tyrrhena gente secutum.*

Then Acoetes tells us a long story of how he was personally saved by the god. But it is not possible to convince the king of Thebes. He commands that Acoetes should be thrown into prison

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of the State Religion in *MAAR* XXII, Rome 1955, Pls XXI; XLVI, fig. 71; L; LV, fig. 83; LVIII.

[1] Gellius, *NA*, XII, III, 1: *"lictorem" dicit a "ligando" appellatum esse, quod, cum magistratus populi Romani virgis quempiam verberari iussissent, crura eius et manus ligari vincirique a viatore solita sint, isque, qui ex conlegio viatorum officium ligandi haberet, "lictor" sit appellatus.*

[2] As in the cults of Artemis Orthia in Sparta (R. M. Dawkins, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia*, London, 1929; Nilsson, *GGR* I, 459) and in the Villa dei Misteri (recently O. J. Brendel, *Der grosse Fries in der Villa dei Misteri* in *JdI* 81, 1966, 206-260 with bibliography which however does not mention J. Houtzager, *De grote wandschildering in de Villa dei Misteri*, 's Gravenhage 1963). For scenes of flagellation: Vermaseren in *Latomus* 1960, 742 ff; for the sarcophagus in the Catacombs of Praetextatus (p. 750 and Pl. XLIV, fig. 8). See also the bibliography in Testini, *Le Catacombe*, 371. The fresco in Ostia, Casseggiato dell' Ercole (Pl. XLII, 2), however seems to be of Abraham and Isaac. See now: W. N. Schumacher in *JAC* 11-12, 1968-9, 65-75.

[3] *Cf.* Cumont, *MMM* II, 26 ff.

[4] Ovid., *Met.*, III, 562 f.: *Ite citi* (*famulis hoc imperat*) *ite ducemque attrahite huc vinctum.*

[5] Ovid., *Met.*, III, 574 ff.

and executed 1), but by another miracle of the god he is saved a second time 2).

The construction of this narrative in Ovid resembles the one about Sinon in the second book of the Aeneid. The young Greek is dragged before Priam:

Ecce manus iuvenem interea post terga revinctum
Pastores magno ad regem clamore trahebant.

Sinon now tells his fraudulent life story—how through the influence of Ulysses he was destined to be sacrificed on the altar by Calchas before the Greeks returned home 3). At the very moment that they were preparing him to be sacrificed like an animal 4), Sinon was able to break his bonds and escape death 5). It is not said that Apollo, who originally gave the oracle (vs 114; vs 121), in the same way gave Sinon this opportunity of escape, just as Artemis once saved Iphigeneia and made her priestess of her temple in the country of the Tauri. In any case Priam pardons him and orders his bonds to be removed 6). Two other persons destined for sacrifice were also miraculously saved: St. Peter and Isaac. In both cases an angel came from heaven to bring help in their perilous situation. The prince of the Apostles was a *captivus* when the angel appeared to loosen his bonds and the doors of the prison were opened. In ancient Christian art the scene of St. Peter's lib-

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1) Ovid., *Met.*, III, 696 ff.: *protinus abstractus solidis Tyrrhenus Acoetes clauditur in tectis; et dum crudelia iussae instrumenta necis ferrumque ignisque parantur, sponte sua patuisse fores lapsasque lacertis sponte sua fama est nullo solvente catenas.*

2) In general: O. Weinreich, *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, Darmstadt 1968, 38 ff: *Türöffnung im Wunder-, Prodigien- und Zauberglauben der Antike, des Judentums und Christentums*, pp 120 ff *Euripides' Bakchai*. See now also A. J. Festugière, *De l'Essence de la Tragédie grecque*, Paris 1969, 57 ff.

3) Vergil, *Aen.*, II, 57 ff. Vs 129: *me destinat arae.*

4) Vergil, *Aen.*, II, 156: *vittaeque deum, quas hostia gessi.*

5) Vergil, *Aen.*, II, 132 ff: *Iamque dies infanda aderat, mihi sacra parari et salsae fruges et circum tempora vittae. Eripui, fateor, leto me et vincula rupi.*

6) Vergil, *Aen.*, II 146 f: *Ipse viro primus manicas atque arta levari vincla iubet Priamus.*

eration is not represented but there are many monuments recording the sacrifice of Isaac 1). In the original story (*Gen.* 22) we are told that Abraham bound his son Isaac and led him to the altar; the artists follow this tradition and represent Isaac kneeling on one or both knees on or before an altar and always with both hands tied behind his back. Abraham holds Isaac's head with one hand and is about to kill him with a sword. But just as in the case of Iphigeneia, the human sacrifice is changed into that of an animal. In both cases the *primitiae* of a human life are demanded but the victim is finally saved. From an iconographical point of view all these examples have common traits: *captivi* or victims with both hands bound behind their backs 2), who will be set free by divine or imperial will. That the iconology 3) of the Capuan fresco connects it with the same series, will become clear when we discuss the *liberator* who cuts through the bonds and the symbolic ritual slaying of the *mystes*. Finally we must remark that we know nothing about the way in which the future *sodalis* was "captured", unless he is *captus* and *vinctus* by the divinity himself and/or by the priest, as in some cults of the Roman State religion 4). At this moment he

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1) DACL *s.v.* Abraham; A. M. Smith in *AJA* XXVI, 1922, 159-173; Fr. Gerke, *Der Sarkophag des Iunius Bassus*, Berlin 1936, 29 ff; I. Speyart van Woerden in *Vig. Chr.*, 1961, 214 ff; RAC *s.v.* Abraham; a new example on a terra sigillata dish: Vermaseren-van Essen, 369 no 645 (see now J. W. Salomonson in *BABesch* XLIV, 1969, 24 ff and fig. 24); the fresco in the Catacomb of the Via Latina (A. Ferrua, *Le pitture della nuova catacomba di Via Latina*, Vatican City 1960, 55 f and Pl. XCIX; A. Grabar, *The Beginnings of Christian Art*, London 1967, fig. 252) though of later date has much affinity with the Capuan fresco in the attitude. See also C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, Ann Arbor 1950, 226 f and Pl. XXV, 7; E. Lucchesi Palli in *Lex. Christl. Ik.* *s.v.* Abraham.

2) See above p. 32.

3) This distinction is that of G. J. Hoogewerff, *Ikonographie en ikonologie van de oude Christelijke kunst*, The Hague 1950.

4) *Capere*; *captus*: Liv., 27, 8, 5: *Caius Flaccus flamen captus a P. Licinio pontifice maximo erat*; Cic., *Verr.*, 2, 2, 51 § 126: *Syracusis lex est de religione, quae in annos singulos Iovis sacerdotem Vestalem, quae sacra faciat.... ita te, Amata, capio* and other examples. Interesting is the expression in Cic., *Verr.*, 2, 4, 42 § 90: *religione devinctus adstrictusque*; *cf.* for *adstringere* also Cic., *Off.*, 3, 31, 11 *vinculum ad adstringendam fidem* and the line of verse in the S^a Prisca Mithraeum (Vermaseren-van Essen, 213 ff) *primus et hic aries astrictius ordine currit.*

may be compared to the young bull = *iuvencus* [1]) captured by Mithras.

Panel III (W. 1.10 m) shows the vague outline of a figure clad in a short red tunic walking towards the left. On the ground in front of him are some indistinct stripes.

Panel IV (W. 1.20 m) is also damaged (Pl. XXIII) [2]). At the left side of the scene a figure, possibly the *mystagogus* is walking towards two others. He is clad in a short red tunic and a billowing shoulder-cape a corner of which seems to been thrown over his right arm. The left arm is lost from the elbow down, but was possibly stretched out. The two figures are represented close together. The one on the left, who has his sword towards the *mystagogus*, is naked and stands in a hieratic attitude—it is possibly the *mystes*. He is embracing a figure that is approaching him in a bowed attitude. One is not able to see whether this person is also naked or wears a short tunic, but his left arm resting upon the right of the *mystes* is clearly visible. This embracing attitude has nothing to do with a kiss (φίλημα, *osculum*) in the sexual sense, but is an *osculum sanctum* as St. Paul [3]) calls his greetings to Aquila and Prisca in Rome. The gesture is here an embrace with a symbolic sense of salutation or harmonious peace. In this ceremony the person approaching the *mystes* might be supposed to have been the *nymphus*, though for this interpretation the texts do not give any definite evidence. The scene is unique in Mithraic art texts, but recalls the famous group of Electra and Orestes (Pl. XXIV), brother and sister recognizing each other after many years of separation near the grave of their father Agamemnon [4]). This much-discussed statuary group, made as the

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1) *Cf.* line 7 in the S^a Prisca Mithraeum (Vermaseren-van Essen, 200 ff): *Hunc quem aur⟨ei⟩s humeris portavit more iuvencum.*

2) Not described accurately in *CIMRM* I, no 190.

3) 1 *Cor.*, 16, 20: ’Ασπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πάντες. ’Ασπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ: cf. *Rom.*, 16, 16 and *Vulg.*, *in osculo sancto*. Completely different but combining greeting and peace in *Curt.*, X, 8, 23: *Utrumque agmen, mutua salutatione facta, coit, in perpetuum, ut arbitrabantur, concordia et pace firmata* (treaty between Perdiccas and Meleager in 323 B. C.). See below p. 35 n. 7. See now: Kl. Traede in *JAC* 11-12, 1968-9, 124-180.

4) *Cf.* Aesch., *Ch.*, 212 ff; see also Eur., *El.*, 553-585. R. Kekule von Stradonitz, *Die Gruppe des Künstlers Menelaos*, Leipzig 1870; Brunn-Bruckmann, no 309; A. Furtwängler-H. L. Urlichs, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur*, Munich 1911^8, 146 ff and Taf. 44; R. Paribeni, *Le Terme*

inscription 1) tells us by Menelaos, pupil of Stephanos at the end of the Republican period 2), shows these two noble children of a eagle father (ἀετοῦ πατρὸς) 3) and an ignoble mother as *"die stillen Vertrauten"* 4). Orestes is slowly moving towards Electra who, standing still, puts her left hand on her brother's right arm. She has her other hand on Orestes' shoulder, and he in his turn has his left hand around her waist 5).

Except in funeral art there are not many comparable representations from Antiquity. Moreover in the grave reliefs we have to do with a farewell, whereas in the present case as Furtwängler 6) rightly remarks "ein Auseinandergehen, ein Abschied ist ganz offenbar nicht dargestellt".

There is yet another domain where the same ceremony as in Capua is to be found. During a high mass in the Western church 7)

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di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano, Roma 1932, 116 f, no 171; S. Aurigemma, *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*, Roma 1954, 87, no 220 and Tav. XXXV; J. M. C. Toynbee, *Some Notes on Artists in the Roman World*, (Latomus VI), Brussels 1951, 21; Helbig, *Führer*^{4}, III, 274 f no 2352.

1) IG XIV, 1251; Fr. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen*, Leipzig 1868, no 2267; E. Löwy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, Leipzig 1885 no 375; J. Marcadé, *Recueil des signatures de sculpteurs grecs*, I, Paris 1953 does not mention it.

2) Helbig, *Führer*, III, 275: "Nach dem Stil kann die Gruppe des Menelaos kaum vor der Mitte des 1. Jhs. nach Chr. entstanden sein". L. Curtius in *DLZ* 45, 1924, 428 dates it in the Flavian period. A new group of Orestes and Electra, dated in the first half of the first cent. A. D. is in the Museum at Kavala: D. I. Lazarides, *Neapolis, Christoupolis, Kabala*, Athens 1969, 136 no Λ 218.

3) Aesch., *Ch.*, 247.

4) For *symplegma nobile*: A. Betz in *Klio* 52, 1970, 31 f.

5) Furtwängler, 146: "Die Frau legt ihm die Rechte auf die Schulter; der Jüngling hat seinen linken Arm um ihren Rücken gelegt... Die Frau steht ruhig und fest auf dem rechten Beine... der Jüngling hält im Schreiten inne".

6) Furtwängler, 147. Two other examples in order to show that the gesture occurs in all periods of classical art:

a) the wooden group of Zeus and Hera from the Heraeum in Samos (D. Ohly in *AM* 68, 1953, 78 ff; E. Akurgal, *Orient and Okzident*, Baden-Baden 1969, 207 ff and Pls 64-65) and dated in the last quarter of the seventh cent. B. C.

b) the famous group of the Tetrarchs at Venice, S. Marco (recently in colour, R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome, la fin de l'art antique*, Paris 1970).

7) Fr. J. Dölger, *Der Kusz im Tauf- und Firmungsritual* in *AuC* I, 1929, 186-196; *cf.* August., *Serm.*, 227 (P.L. 38, 1101): *post ipsam* (*sc. orationem*) *dominicam dicitur*: *pax vobiscum, et osculantur se Christiani in osculo sancto*;

the priest, deacon, and sub-deacon give each other the fraternel kiss of peace, which consists in an alternate embrace performed by putting the hands on the arms of the other. This ritual is gone through before the communion of the priest and after the invocation of the *Agnus dei* who is invoked to give peace (*dona nobis pacem*) and unity in belief (*eamque ⟨fidem⟩ secundum voluntatem tuam pacificare et coadunare digneris*).

Panel V (W. 1.08) shows the naked *mystes* (Pl. XXV) again kneeling on his right knee, but his hands are no longer bound and are resting upon his thighs. He is not wearing a cap [1]). Behind his

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August., *Enarr. in ps.*, 124, 10 (P.L. 37, 1656); W. Roetzer, *Des hl. Augustinus Schriften als liturgie-geschichtliche Quelle*, Munich 1930, 130 f. Justinus, *Apol.*, 65 *cf.* J. Quasten, *Monumenta eucharistica et liturgica vetustissima*, Bonn 1935-1937, mon. 13-21: "Nach dem wir den, der unseren Glauben angenommen und sich uns angeschlossen, also getauft haben, führen wir ihn in die Versammlung derer, die sich Brüder nennen, und verrichten dort gemeinsame Gebete für uns selbst, für den Neugetauften und für alle anderen, die sich allerorts befinden..... Haben wir die Gebete beendigt, so begrüßen wir einander durch einen Kuß. Dann wird dem Vorsteher der Brüder Brot und ein Becher mit Mischwein gebracht. Dieser nimmt es in Empfang und sendet dem Vater des Alls durch den Namen des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes Lob und Preis empor und führt eine Danksagung dafür, daß wir dieser Gaben von ihm gewürdigt worden sind, des weiteren aus." See also J. A. Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia* I-II, Wien 1952; I, 29; II, 399 ff especially 400 n. 4, 408; J. A. Jungmann, *Liturgie der christlichen Frühzeit*, Freiburg 1967, 55; 116: "Der Kuß hatte in der Kultur der Antike als Form der Begrüßung eine viel größere Bedeutung als heute. Wenn jemand in eine Bruderschaft, in eine Gemeinschaft aufgenommen wurde, so war das Zeichen der Aufnahme der Kuß. Das hielten auch die Christen ähnlich. Die Aufnahme in die christliche Gemeinschaft geschah durch die Taufe. Wenn der Neugetaufte gleich darauf vom Bischof gefirmt wurde, gab ihm der Bischof zuletzt einen Kuß. Dann durfte er zu den Gläubigen in die Kirche gehen, und er wurde auch von den Gläubigen mit dem Kuß begrüßt. Der Kuß, den der Bischof dem Neugetauften und Gefirmten gab, ist, so scheint es, heute noch erhalten. Im Pontificale Romanum steht die Rubrik: *deinde leviter eum in maxilla caedit, dicens*: *Pax tecum*." Th. Klauser, *Kleine abendländische Liturgiegeschichte*, Bonn 1965 index *s.v.* Kuß; J. Quasten in RAC *s.v.* osculum.

1) LeRoy Campbell, 296: "The initiate is already wearing a Phrygian cap, this perhaps having been received in the preceding rite after the removal of the blindfold. The last scene appears to have been a *Devotio*, perhaps as a final act of dedication." *Cf.* p. 300: "In the last scene that is preserved the initiate with his hands still bound behind his back is now without blindfold but is wearing the Phrygian cap, or a more or less similar type of cap. The *mystagogus* standing behind him appears to be placing a wreath on his head,

left foot a black sword or staff is lying on the ground. He has a short beard and whiskers like the person who is approaching him from behind. The latter seems to be clad in a short white tunic with red stripes, unless we may suppose that the greater part of the red paint has disappeared. The outlines of this tall figure are however clearly visible; just as in other frescoes the pupils are painted in the corners of the eyes. With his outstretched right hand he holds above the head of the *mystes* a crown that has its lower side decorated with red ribbons. On the left of the panel are other vague outlines in red paint, possibly of another person. The scene resembles a representation on one of the sides of the above mentioned lost base from Velletri [1]). Here too there is a kneeling figure with his hands on his thighs and probably wearing a crown. A similar crown is worn by the Heliodromus in the floor-mosaic of the Mithraeum of Felicissimus at Ostia [2]). The Heliodromus has this radiate crown in common with Helios. On other monuments such as the altar in the Mithraeum of S. Clemente we find a leaf-crown and palm-branch, which belonged to the Pater who dedicated the altar [3]). Both are the prizes [4]) of a victorious

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although the presence of the cap causes some doubt as to the precise nature of the rite that is being performed. The preceding scenes may have been rites of illumination symbolized by the removal of the blindfold and the bestowal of the sky cap."

1) *CIMRM* I, no 609, c; see above p. 28.

2) *CIMRM* I, no 299, 10; Laeuchli, 80 and Pl. 27.

3) *CIMRM* I, no 339 and fig. 97. Palm-branch: *CIMRM* I, no 554; 422; 423; crown: CIL VI 2278 = *CIMRM* I, no 624.

4) Palm and amphora in the Basilica near Porta Maggiore: G. Bendinelli in *Mon. Ant.*, XXXI, 1927, 769 f; G. van Hoorn in *MNHIR* IV, 1924, 17 ff. Palm and crown in Judeo-Christianity: J. Daniélou, *Les Symboles chrétiens primitifs*, Paris 1961 (Chapitre I), pp 9 ff. The crown has an eschatological symbolism. Daniélou, 24 quotes two interesting passages from the *Odes of Solomon*: *Ode* I, 1-2 "Le Seigneur est sur ma tête comme une couronne et je ne serai pas sans lui. Une vraie couronne a été tressée sur ma tête", and *Ode* IX, 7 "Viens au Paradis, fais-toi une couronne de son arbre et pose-la sur sa tête". Bernard, *The Odes of Solomon*, Cambridge 1912, 45 and Lampe, *The Seal of the Spirit*, London 1943, 112, connect these texts with the rite of baptism where the neophyte is crowned with flowers (*cf.* J. Daniélou, *La Théologie du judéo-christianisme*, Paris 1958, 382). In the Mithraic rite there is also an eschatological symbolism and a connection with the initiation. As for the confession of the name of Mithras during the ceremony of crowning there

athlete and are consequently attributes of Mithras [1]. At the same time the crown is an attribute of the ruler, human and divine. The well-known passage from Tertullian's *de corona* [2] concerning the initiation of the *miles* [3] may be quoted in illustration of the scene at Capua. Having told us in another book [4] how Mithras seals his soldiers on their foreheads, he now relates the ceremony of the crown in greater detail: *qui* (i.e. *miles*) *cum iniatiatur in spelaeo, in castris vere tenebrarum, coronam interposito gladio sibi oblatam, quasi mimum martyrii, dehinc capiti suo accomodatam monetur obvia manu a capite pellere et in humerum, si forte, transferre, dicens Mithram esse coronam suam. Atque exinde nunquam coronatur, idque in signum habet ad probationem sui, sicuti temptatus fuerit de sacramento, statimque creditur Mithrae miles, si deiecerit coronam, si eam in deo suo esse dixerit.* Like the introduction beginning with the words *erubescite, commilitiones eius* the whole text is written in

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is an interesting parallel with *V Esdras*, II 45-47, also quoted by Daniélou (p. 27 f): "Au milieu de la foule il y avait un homme jeune, d'une taille élevée, plus haut que tous les autres. Il plaçait des couronnes sur la tête de chacun de ceux-ci. Et leur taille augmentait. Je demandai à l'ange: Qui sont ceux-ci? Il répondit: Ce sont ceux qui ont déposé la tunique mortelle et ont revêtu l'immortelle et ont confessé le Nom de Dieu. Désormais ils sont couronnés et ont reçu les palmes (*modo coronantur et accipiunt palmas*)" (*Cf.* J. Labourt, *Le Cinquième Livre d'Esdras* in *Rev. Bibl.* VI, 1909, 433 f). See also: Cumont, *MM*^{3}, 160 n. 4; *Symb. fun.*, 482 n. 3.

1) *CIMRM* I, no 54: the word Μίθρας in a crown, to the right a palm-branch. J. Koechling, *De coronarum apud antiquos vi atque usu*, Giessen 1914; Ganszyniec in PWRE *s.v.* Kranz; L. Deubner, *Die Bedeutung des Kranzes im klassischen Altertum*, *ARW* XXX, 1933, 70 ff; K. Baus, *Der Kranz in Antike und Christentum*, Bonn 1940; Th. Klauser in *MdI* 1944 (1948), 129 ff; K. Wessel in *aa* 1950-51, 103 ff; C. Cecchelli, *La vita di Roma nel Medio Evo*, Roma 1952-1960, 1115 ff. See also: Kittel, *TWB* s.v. Στέφανος; DS *s.v.* couronne; S. Eitrem, *Der Kranz. Seine religiös-magische Bedeutung bei den Griechen und Römern* in *Serta Hoffilleriana* 1940, 105-109.

2) Tertullian, *De corona*, 15 (*ed.* J. Fontaine, Paris 1966, 179 ff).

3) *Cf.* Vermaseren, *Mithras*, 118 f.

4) Tertullian, *De praescr. Haer.*, 40: *signat illic in frontibus milites suos. Celebrat et panis oblationem et imaginem resurrectionis inducit et sub gladio redimit coronam* (p. 144 *ed.* R. F. Réfoulé, Paris 1957). *Cf.* also F. J. Dölger in *AC*, II 1930, 268-280; H. Lilliebjörn, *Über religiöse Signierung in der Antike mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kreuzsignierung*, Uppsala 1933; Helga von Heintze, *Studien zu den Porträts des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Chr.* in *MdI* 64, 1957, 69-91 especially 74 ff.

military terminology. Tertullian does not tell us who offers the crown to the *miles* on a sword (Cumont, Demougeot) [1]—or after a sword has been put forward (Fontaine) [2]. This act is compared to martyrdom [3] in which again it is the sword that confers the crown, but the *miles* is advised this *obvia manu a capite pellere.* Both *obvia manu* and *pellere* are taken from the vocabulary of the soldier, who with his hand has to "push back" the crown like an enemy. This means that he is, as it were, fighting the temptation to accept the crown; it is asked of him that he resist this enemy [4]. He must transfer the crown onto his shoulder saying that Mithras is his crown. The phrase *in humerum transferre* [5] expresses the real deed of self-conquest; the honour of victory belongs to the god alone. The words also recall a line of verse in the S^a Prisca Mithraeum [6]:

Atque perlata humeris t(u)li m(a)xima divum

"And to the end I have borne the orders of the gods on my shoulders". The *miles* bears these himself even as he carries his knapsack in the mysteries [7], like Mithras who during the *transitus* [8] carries the bull on his shoulders and is theretore invoked [9] as:

hunc quem aur(ei)s humeris portavit more iuvencum.

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[1] E. Demougeot, *"Paganus", Mithra et Tertullien*, in *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, 78, 1961, 354-365. *Cf.* Cumont, *MMM* I, 319.

[2] Fontaine is of the opinion that *interposito gladio* is an ablative absolute and not an instrumental ablative.

[3] *corona fidei*: Cypr., *Ep.*, 58; 60; Lact., *Epit.*, 72, 23. See below p. 42.

[4] *Cf.* Cic., *De or.*, 2, 61, 250: *coronam sibi in convivio ad caput accommodanti.*

[5] Fontaine: "geste de sens obscur....: le transfert de la couronne signifie-t-il qu'ici-bas leur gloire reste à venir et se trouve préparée par leur *labor* spirituel?" *Cf.* Liv., 37, 58, 4: *in eo triumpho XLIX coronae aureae translatae sunt.*

[6] Line 9: Vermaseren-van Essen, 204 ff.

[7] Vermaseren-van Essen, 157. For this symbol in Ostia: *CIMRM* I, no 299, 7; Laeuchli, 77 and Pl. 24.

[8] *Transitus*: Vermaseren, *Mithras*, 63 ff; LeRoy Campbell, 432 *s.v.* transitus.

[9] Line 7: Vermaseren-van Essen, 201 ff.

The second part of the text gives a further comment "the *miles* is never crowned again [1], and that is the sign for his approval, if he anywhere has been put to the test about his oath." The sacrament [2] for the Mithraic soldier seems to consist in the trial of the presentation of the crown and in the formula [3] "*Mithras est corona mea*" or when he has rejected the crown like an enemy (*si deiecerit coronam*) with the words "*corona in deo meo est*". Without any fear [4] the soldier rejects this earthly crown in order to join the army of Mithras *deus invictus*, who is the divine crown, the eternal prize.

The crown is offered on a menacing sword or after putting forward a sword (*interposito gladio*). In *De praescr. haer.*, 40, 4 [5], which was written eleven years before *De corona*, Tertullian says that the devil, or Mithras [6], *sub gladio redimit coronam*, which is usually

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1) G. de Plinval in *Mélanges de Ghellinck*, I, 1951, 183-188 (= *Museum Lessianum*, 13).

2) A. Kolping, *Sacramentum Tertullianeum*, Munich 1948. For the Christian meaning: W. Rordorf in *Vig. Chr.*, 23, 1969, 132 f with bibliography: "Spätestens zur Zeit Tertullians hat der göttliche Fahneneid einen doppelten Aspekt: er ist einerseits die feierliche Zusage an Christus im Taufgelöbnis, die fürs Leben gilt; andererseits ist er begleitet von dem Akt der Absage an den bisherigen Herrn, den Satan." Fr. Cumont in *HThR* 26, 1933, 151 ff (*cf.* Vermaseren, *Mithras*, 106 f) was of the opinion that the mystery-oath in a papyrus at Florence belonged to the Mithraic cult. See however Nilsson, *GR* II, 667 n. 3: "Cumonts Zuweisung zu den Mithras-mysterien ist sehr unsicher." The text seems to give the oath for the Isis mysteries: R. Merkelbach, *Der Eid der Isismysten*, in *Zeitschr. für Pap. und Ep.*, 1, 1968, 55 ff; for another oath: R. Merkelbach, *Ein ägyptischer Priestereid* in *Zeitschr. für Pap. und Ep.*, 2, 1968, 7 ff.

3) *Cf.* for *dicens* and *si dixerit* the normal expression *sacramentum dicere*.

4) See the oath formula in Liv., 22, 38, 4 in the year 216 B. C.: *coniurabant sese, fugae atque formidinis ergo, non abituros, neque ex ordine recessuros nisi teli sumendi aut petendi et aut hostis feriendi, aut civis servandi causa* (*cf.* Front. *Strat.*, 4, 1, 4). For *ordo* in Mithraism, see line 13 in the S^{a} Prisca Mithraeum, (Vermaseren-van Essen, 213 ff): *primus et hic aries astrictius ordine currit* (See now also H. D. Betz in *Nov. Test.*, 10, 1968, 74 ff).

5) See above p. 38.

6) Fr. J. Dölger in *AC* I, 1929, 88-91, who takes as subject of the passus *diabolus* is usually followed; *ed.* Kroyman (Vienna 1942), 51; H. Kellner, *Tertullians Apologetische, Dogmatische und Montanistische Schriften*, Munich 1915, 349 f; *ed.* Refoulé, Paris 1957, 144 n. 3; Chr. Mohrmann, *Tertullianus' Apologeticum en andere geschriften* (*Mon. Christ.*, III), Utrecht-Brussels, 1951, 177.

translated "under the sword he redeems the crown" [1]. In itself it does not make a great difference whether the devil or Mithras is the subject of this sentence, since for Tertullian and for the Christians the pagan mysteries are nothing other than devilish imitations of Christianity. In the same way the crown ceremony is a devilish *mimus martyrii*, and it is with this statement as a starting point that one must try to explain Tertullian's difficult text. If *redimit* comes from *redimere*, the sentence means that the devil or Mithras redeems the crown or—as Chr. Mohrmann translates—buys the crown under the sword, i.e. like the Christian who bought the *corona martyrum* under the sword of the executioner. However R. F. Refoulé [2] is surely right to observe that "La traduction de Labriolle n'offre aucun sens satisfaisant, le passage du *De corona* ne faisant aucun allusion à un rachat" and equally that *redimere* never has the meaning of "take away". Hence Refoulé proposes that the word comes from *redimire* = to crown, though he is aware of the fact that "il faudrait alors lire *corona* au lieu de *coronam*, conjecture facile à justifier du point de vue paléographique. Mais l'absence du complément direct reste difficile à expliquer". Finally he translates "sous le glaive 'il pose une couronné' ". Both translations make good sense, though naturally *redimire* more often occurs in connection with a *corona*.

Now, what is the consequence of these two translations for our interpretation of the Mithraic rite? If we adopt the rendering "he buys off, he sets free, he releases the crown" the *miles* is like a *captivus* or slave liberated from the sword, and we know of another similar ceremony during which the *mystes* is rescued by a *liberator* [3], who may have been the *Pater sacrorum* representing Mithras himself. Otherwise the *miles* receives the crown under the threat of the sword

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1) P. de Labriolle: "sous le glaive, il rachète la couronne"; Mohrmann: "onder het zwaard koopt hij den krans" = he buys the crown; Kellner-Esser translates "hinwegnehmen" (Bibl. Kirchenväter) like Dölger in *AC* I 1929, 88 and LeRoy Campbell, 299: "he takes back the crown beneath the sword."

2) Refoulé, 145 f n. 5. His objection to Chr. Mohrmann's version seems to me less justified: "le sujet de *redimit* n'est pas le fidèle de Mithra, mais le diable, et par suite le membre ne présente guère de sens acceptable et le parallélisme avec le martyre chrétien disparaît."

3) Pseudo-Augustine: see above p. 28 and below p. 43.

but rejects it pronouncing an oath of fidelity which is also valid for the community (*statimque creditur Mithrae miles*).

If one now compares the data from Tertullian with the Capuan fresco (panel V) of the kneeling *mystes*, there is only one obvious similarity: a crown is being put on the initiate's head. But the neophyte does not reject it, nor is he trying to take it from under the sword and put it on his shoulder. If there is a sword in the fresco, which is doubtful, since the object concerned might equally will be a staff—it is lying on the ground. There are indeed some gold coins [1])—which date from 217 B.C. and thus from the period to which Livy [2]) assigns the origin of the soldier's oath—on which a figure kneeling on one knee seems to be taking an oath while two soldiers (a standard-bearer and a centurion) each hold a dagger to his breast. The Capuan fresco might also be compared with these, now with the sacramentum of the *miles*, if it were not that on these early Campanian coins the crown is missing.

And so the only possible conclusion is that the panel at Capua does not represent the initiation of a *miles* [3]) but of a neophyte, since in the other scenes he is blindfolded [4]) and has his hands bound. This is no small addition to our knowledge, since we now know of the existence of another ceremony involving the neophyte about which the classical authors tell us nothing.

Panel VI (W. 1.23 m) is nearly completely lost: on the left side a head without a cap is visible.

On the front of the left bench, which is as long as the right

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1) H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, London 1960², 17 and Pl. I, 8-9; E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*, London 1952, 6 no 69; H. A. Grueber, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Roman Republic*, II, London 1910, 131 nos 75-77 and Pl. LXXIV; a silver coin with this scene on the reverse: Sydenham, *CRR*, 66 nos 527 and 527a; Grueber, *CRR*, II, 281 no 550 and Pl. XCIV, 4. Other oath-scenes: Sydenham, *CRR*, 91-94 (four and eight soldiers); Grueber, *CRR*, II, 323 f.

2) See above p. 40 n. 4.

3) This means that there is no immediate reason to distrust Tertullian, although he is obscure in his description.

4) See above p. 28; the ceremony of blindfolding, kneeling and removing the bandage still exists in freemasonry: P. Mariel, *Rituels des sociétés secrètes*, Paris 1961.

podium, are seven panels. Panel I (W. 1.40 m) was painted on the part of the bench near the entrance that has been broken off. Only traces are preserved.

Panel II (W. 1.07 m) is damaged at the top (Pl. XXVI) and so the figure on the left is missing from the chest upwards. He is standing turned towards the right with outstretched hands (the palm of one is clearly visible) and is clad in a short white tunic decorated with vertical red lines. He appears to be throwing a vague red-coloured object down on the left foot of a naked figure lying prostrate on the ground in front of him [1]). This second figure has his arms spread out and is trying to lift up his head. As well as the object above the mystes' left foot there are other more or less enigmatic shapes in the field above and below the initiate. Below his right foot there is a vertical red stripe whose top ends in a somewhat broader spot. There are two other spots at the same height—one next to the initiate's right hip and the other by his right hand. Above his left knee is a circular object with an opening in the centre (a small crown?) and above his back there is a scorpion, the claws and tail of which are clearly discernible [2]). A man clad in a short red tunic and shoulder cape is approaching the *mystes*. In his outstretched right hand he is holding an indistinct oblong object above the arms of the initiate. He is not wearing a cap, nor is it clear whether he has something in his left hand also. This scene has some resemblance to one side of the lost base from Velletri [3]), on which there also seems to have been represented a figure lying on the ground; this one was however probably bound hand and foot. Before him a youth in oriental dress is standing holding a long staff in his right and "something like a cup" in his left hand. In both scenes we certainly have to do with one of the trials of the initiate, but with which? None of the authors of antiquity gives us any information about it, since the words "*proiciuntur super foveas*" which are found in Pseudo-Augustine [4]) can-not apply to the situation shown in both the Capuan fresco and the Velletri base. One is inclined to think however of a man who, in some symbolic manner, is lying prone [1]) in a pit or coffin. In the Mithraeum at Carrawburgh [2]) such an ordeal pit was found in the ante-room: "in shape and size the feature strongly resembles a coffin. Actual experiments show that it will in fact only contain a man, with his head placed in the narrower westward end". The excavators suppose that the initiate was here subjected to tests of heat, cold, and hunger [3]). Another pit in the form of a grave was found in room Z of the Mithraic sanctuary in S^a Prisca. In front of this pit is a raised *podium* containing a *dolium* and a vase with an enigmatic graffito, the exact interpretation of which is still uncertain. But in both Mithraea these constructions were well suited to containing the *mystes*, who had to undergo the ceremony of a voluntary death as one of the trials before his final initiation. Neither in the schematic Capuan fresco nor in the Velletri relief is a pit or a grave indicated, but on the other hand there is on the fresco the horrible scorpion above the initiate's back. It is not impossible that the prostrate man in this scene should be identified with the bull attacked by the scorpion at the moment that he is dying under the fatal blow of Mithras' dagger.

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[1]) Minto, 372: "Nulla possiamo dire intorno a questa singolare ceremonia di προσκύνησις del mystes, il quale ricorda il rituale cristiano dell' ordinazione sacerdotale." See in general: J. Horst, *Proskynein*, Gütersloh 1932.

[2]) Always erroneously described as a snake.

[3]) *CIMRM* I, no 609, c.

[4]) Pseudo-Augustine, *Quaest. V. N. T.*, CXIV, 11.

Panel III (W. 1.63 m) shows again as on the right side (panel II) a scene in which the *mystes* endures a fire-proof (Pl. XXVII). He is kneeling on both knees stretching both hands (? clasped) forward; it is not clear whether he is blindfolded. Behind him the *mystagogus* is standing with his legs apart. His head is clearly visible; he is wearing a short white tunic with red stripes and he seems to laying his hands on the shoulders of the *mystes*. A man clad in a short red tunic, a cape and a helmet with a crest is approaching these two central figures. He has in each of his outstretched hands a burning torch the flames of which come together below the hands of the *mystes*. Behind the left foot of the initiate are two horizontal red stripes that probably represent the ground and not an object

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1) Vermaseren-van Essen, 142 ff.

2) I. A. Richmond-J. P. Gillam, *The Temple of Mithras at Carrawburgh*, Newcastle upon Tyne 1951, 19 and fig. 4 = *CIMRM* I, no 844.

3) The excavators are here too much influenced by the fantastic data of Nonnus and Cosmas (*cf.* Vermaseren, *Mithras*, 108 f).

such as a sword or staff. In panel II of the right bench the initiate is kneeling on one knee, he is blindfolded and his hands are bound behind his back; but in the present panel he is kneeling on both knees, his hands now seem to be untied and the *mystagogus* is apparently pushing him forward a little. This time the *miles*, recognizable by his helmet, does not hold the fire above the *mystes'* head but under his hands, which have to be purified. The text of Porphyry [1]) about the initiation ceremonies of the Lion's grade makes this interpretation most likely. The Neo-Platonist tells that "when those who are being initiated as Lions have honey instead of water poured over their hands to cleanse them, then their hands are purified of all evil, all crime and contamination", καί ὡς μύστῃ, καθαρτικοῦ ὄντος τοῦ πυρός, οἰκεῖα νίπτρα προσάγουσι.

It thus appears that the fitting absolution for the Lion is given with honey, since as the first of the higher grades he is identified with the element fire and thus becomes a real μετέχων. The three lower grades, who according to Porphyry [2]) are attendants (ὑπηρετοῦντες), are cleaned either by water or by fire. It is therefore likely that in this panel at Capua we are assisting at the moment when the *miles* with the help of the *mystagogus* symbolically purifies the initiate's hands with fire.

Panel IV (W. 0.72 m) seems to confirm the hypothesis already expressed in connection with panel II, i.e. the identification of *mystes* and bull (Pl. XXVIII). The naked *mystes* is here kneeling on both knees with his arms crossed on his breast [3]). With his left hand he seems to be offering a rhyton (drinking horn) over his right shoulder to the *mystagogus* standing behind him. The latter, who is recognizable by his short white tunic with red stripes has his left foot on one of the calves of the *mystes* [4]). He seems to be holding in his outstretched hands a little cup from which he is pouring a liquid into the rhyton of the *mystes* who does not see what is happen-

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1) Porph., *De Antro nymph.*, 15; Arethusa Monographs, I, *Porphyry, The Cave of the Nymphs*, Buffalo 1969, 16; *cf.* Vermaseren, *Mithras*, 120 f.

2) Porph., *De Abst.*, IV, 16; see however Vermaseren, *Mithras*, 114 f.

3) Erroneously described in *CIMRM* I, no 194; LeRoy Campbell, 295.

4) LeRoy Campbell: "with his right foot braced against the ground and with his left knee in the middle of the back of the *mystes* he forces him forward."

ing behind him. The *Pater*, clad in a red tunic, mantle and cap is approaching the initiate. With his right hand and with the end of his staff he puts a cake or loaf on the ground before the *mystes*.

In the fresco there are two distinctive features which make it possible to interpret this scene otherwise unknown in the written tradition and art representations. LeRoy Campbell [1]) interpreted the action "as an imitation of Mithra slaying the bull in which the initiated plays the part of the bull and the mystagogue that of Mithra tauroctone, all of this being under the direction of the Pater in the likeness of Mithra Pater". LeRoy Campbell rightly compares a passage from the *Vita Commodi* [2]): "He polluted the Mithraic rites with a genuine homicide when in the rite something was regularly represented by word and deed in a fearful likeness." N. Massalsky [3]) concluded that Commodus, and later the emperor Julian, really slaughtered a person during the Mithraic ceremonies. This means that the *homicidium* in the rite was only symbolic but that Commodus actually murdered an initiate (the story told of Julian is different). But the Capuan fresco seems to give even more reason than Lampridius for assuming that the symbolic killing of the initiate was part of the rite [4]). The posture of the *mystagogus* does indeed resemble that of Mithras slaying the bull. But this resemblance is only external. In the first place it is not Mithras i.e. the *Pater* who is performing the act, but it is another person, the *mystagogus*, who is playing the role of the god. And he is not the initiate's murderer, but like the Pater, his saviour, offering the wine and corn (loaf), that come forth from the death of the bull. After many trials the *mystes* is now arriving at the moment in which he will feel the divine power of the invincible god. This interpretation is completely in harmony with the archaeological evidence—literary

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1) LeRoy Campbell, 297.

2) SHA, *Commodus*, 9: *sacra Mithriaca homicidio vero polluit, cum illic aliquid ad speciem timoris vel dici vel fingi soleat*. Recently A. Kehl, *Ein ritueller Drachenkampf in den Mithrasmysterien?* in *Anthropica. Gedenkschrift zum 100. Geburtstag von P. Wilhelm Schmidt* (= *Studia Instituti Anthropos* 21, 1968), 213-223.

3) N. Massalsky in *BCR*, LXIX, 1941, 159 ff; see however Vermaseren in *Hermeneus* 20, 1950-1951, 70 ff.

4) *Cf CIMRM* I, no 200 (from Cales = Calvi).

data are lacking. Many Mithraic monuments spread over the Roman Empire are worked on two sides [1]), the obverse representing the bull-slaying and the reverse showing the sacred meal. These two scenes are intimately connected—the meal is only possible after the miraculous slaughter of the bull. Instead of the *mystai* offering to the gods Mithras and Sol, or to the Pater and the Heliodromus, bread and wine, i.e. the flesh and blood of the bull, in this scene the *Pater* and another member of the community, who also represents Mithras, are now giving the example to the new servant in offering to him for the first time these divine gifts. The *mystagogus* can not here be playing the role of Sol, since in the myth he is the divine messenger who gives the order to Mithras to kill the bull. The relationship between Sol and Mithras in the mysteries is rather obscure, but it now seems clear that Sol as a messenger participates in the slaying of the bull in such a way that one need no longer wonder at the close relationship between the two Sun gods, which finally led to their identification. This identification has as consequence in the rite that the *Pater* in his turn orders an initiate of an inferior grade to act the part of the slayer.

Panel V (W. 0.63 m) only shows blue and some traces of red; panel VI (W. 1.02 m) is painted blue; panel VII (W. 1.18 m) is lost.

These panels on the front of the two benches have some resemblance to those one finds on either side of the tauroctone scene in the composite reliefs or frescoes. In the latter panels the arrangement is usually as follows: starting at the upper left corner of the relief with the scene of the creation the cycle of the myth ends at the lower right corner with the ascension of Mithras to heaven. But it should be noted that a fixed scheme is unknown; variations were always possible. For the initiation scenes, however, there is nothing comparable available except the lost Velletri base [2]). However, we can note that the *introductio* of the *mystes* is represented at the beginning of the right *podium* and the offering of bread and

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1) See above p. 20.

2) Similarly we do not know the exact relationship between the various lines of verse discovered some years ago in the Sª Prisca Mithraeum on the Aventine. For this problem: Vermaseren-van Essen, 208.

wine in the fourth panel of the left bench. And so the sequence of the scenes runs in both cases from the entrance towards the cult-niche (See Fig. 5).

One should also note that in all the scenes the initiate is clearly distinguished by his nakedness, and it appears that he is undergoing his first initiation, since sometimes it is the *Pater* himself, and sometimes the *miles*, the nymphus, or an indefinite *mystagogus* in a white tunic with red lines, who is assisting. This leads us to the conclusion that the *mystes* is probably being initiated as a *corax*, though it is not impossible that an initiate received this first grade only at a later stage after a first initiation, but in that case one wonders why the sacred meal is offered to him already.

Nor does there seem to be any coherent relationship between the panels on the bench and those on the side walls of the Mithraeum. It is difficult to consider Cautes and Cautopates as presiding in the scenes on the right and the left benches respectively, since on the tauroctone scene they are represented in the reverse order.

Finally it becomes apparent that hardly any of the descriptions in the ancient authors concerning initiations in the Mithraic mysteries are really useful for the interpretation of these unique Capuan frescoes. One needs more direct testimony than that provided by the Church-Fathers [1]).

In his publication of the Capuan Mithraeum A. Minto [2]) rightly remarks that it is difficult to define the social class to which the followers of the Iranian god in this Campanian city belonged. This must indeed for ever remain uncertain since inscriptions are lacking, but on the other hand one should note that just as in many other sanctuaries the leaders, in any case, were well-versed in the initiate doctrine of the mysteries; from the luxurious paintings one might at the same time deduce that the community was not a poor

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1) It is therefore still more regrettable to observe that for various reasons (and through various causes) the wonderful and interesting frescoes in the Barberini and Marino Mithraea are in a deplorable state (see *Mithriaca* II). We are fortunate to have a reproduction in colour of at least a part of the Barberini-fresco in A. Grabar, *The Beginnings of Christian Art*, London 1967, 79 fig. 73.

2) Minto, 375.

one. One is therefore inclined to think of merchants who came southwards from Rome along the Via Appia, since the tauroctone scene has very close affinities with the paintings of the Barberini and the Marino sanctuaries. As for the date—Minto suggests that though we do not have any certain evidence for the date of the Mithraeum as a whole there is no doubt that at least some of the frescoes belong to a "good artistic period still under the influence of the fourth Pompeian style". Among finds between the rubbish [1], such as lamps, coins, and terracotta fragments, a coin of Constantine the Great definitely proves that the Mithraeum was blocked up in the fourth century A.D. or later. One can therefore say that the temple was in use from the early second till the middle of the fourth century. It is however possible to distinguish a number of periods in this long history, since—as we mentioned above—the construction of the side benches shows that they have at some time been enlarged [2]. The frescoes themselves also supply valuable evidence on this point. Let us start with the nearly obliterated painting in panel III on the right side wall [3]. This painting is rather primitive in style in comparison with the tauroctone and Luna frescoes and has moreover a totally different gamut of colours of which yellow is the dominating one. Closer examination reveals that the head of the servant (probably a *Leo*) approaching the reclining figures is visible above the upper horizontal dark-red outline of the panel; some bright-red lines giving the impression of a tree-trunk are to be seen underneath the lower horizontal outline of the same panel. This inevitably leads to the conclusion that the scene of the sacred repast belongs to the very first period of the Mithraeum when the side walls were stuccoed plain white and the *podia* had not been yet enlarged. About other paintings from this period we know nothing; it may be that there was a tauroctone

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1) Minto, 354 ff. On p. 356 indeterminate bones of animals are also mentioned; nor do we know the exact strata of the finds (e.g. on p. 354: negli strati inferiori si rinvennero qua e là numerose lucerne fittili, di colore rossiccio, intere e frammentate). Finds of bones in the Mithraea: *CIMRM* I-II index *s.v.* bones; for a deposit of lamps: Vermaseren-van Essen, 438 f.

2) See above p. 4.

3) See above p. 19 and Pl. XVII.

relief[1]) in the cult-niche or that there was a painting which was later on covered by the present tauroctone.

In the second period, before the enlargement of the *podia*, a much more talented artist made a number of new paintings. He divided the side walls into several panels with thick, dark-red lines, in the foremost part of the sanctuary these vertical lines can be traced right down to the floor. He also surrounded the three rectangular air-holes in the left side of the vault and the Amor-Psyche relief in dark-red borders. Since the representation of Luna in her chariot has been painted inside a frame of similar lines, we may assume that this same artist created the large new tauroctone scene and decorated the vault with its stars. To judge from other paintings this prosperous period of the temple coincided with the Antonines[2]). It has been questioned whether the peculiar paintings of Cautes and Cautopates were also executed by the same painter, but we can confidently say that the same artist painted both torch-bearers also, as is proved by the fine golden decorations they have near the elbows on their *tunicae manicatae*, which are similar to those visible on Mithras' garment. However, he did this after having drawn the outlines of the panels, since the leaves of the laurel trees have been painted over the upper horizontal lines of the panel frames. At the same time it is clear that the painter already took into account a possible enlargement of the benches; this is also done with the *Heliodromus* in panel I of the right wall: this figure may therefore belong to the same period[3]); in any case there is nothing against attributing it to the same style.

Finally in a third period the benches were enlarged. But this does not necessarily mean that they were immediately decorated with the initiation scenes. These panels are by another painter,

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1) The relief of Amor and Psyche was probably inserted in the same period in the left wall and in period II surrounded with a dark red frame, since it is difficult to suppose that the painter was not himself able to compose such a picture.

2) J. Beaujeu, *La Religion romaine à l'apogée de l'Empire*, I, *La politique religieuse des Antonins*, Paris 1955; J. Beaujeu, *La religion de la classe sénatoriale à l'époque des Antonins* in *Hommages Bayet*, 1964, 54-75.

3) The figure underneath Luna near the entrance is too fragmentary for us to be able to form a definite opinion.

who has his own impressive style. His figures are all unnaturally long, like shadows, but anatomical proportions are adhered to; finer detail is lacking; the garments of the figures are always painted in the same academic way; the gestures and especially the movements of the hands are unclear and therefore difficult to interpret. Some traits such as the short beards, and the rendering of the pupils in the eye-corners allow us to date these panels in the first half of the third century A.D. The style is akin to the figures in the Capella greca of the Catacomb of Priscilla 1) and to those on the second layer of painting in the Sa Prisca Mithraeum 2).

Concluding one might draw up the following table:

Period I		First half of the second century A.D. Establishment of the Mithraeum in an existing cryptoporticus. Panel of the sacred meal.
Period II	*a.*	Antonine period. Mithra tauroctone; Luna; vault.
	b.	Same period or shortly later. Cautes; Cautopates; *Heliodromus*.
Period III	*a.*	Enlargement of the *podia*.
	b.	First half of the third century A.D. Initiation scenes.

1) J. de Wit, *Spätrömische Bildnismalerei*, Berlin 1938, Pls 8-9.
2) Vermaseren-van Essen, 173 ff.

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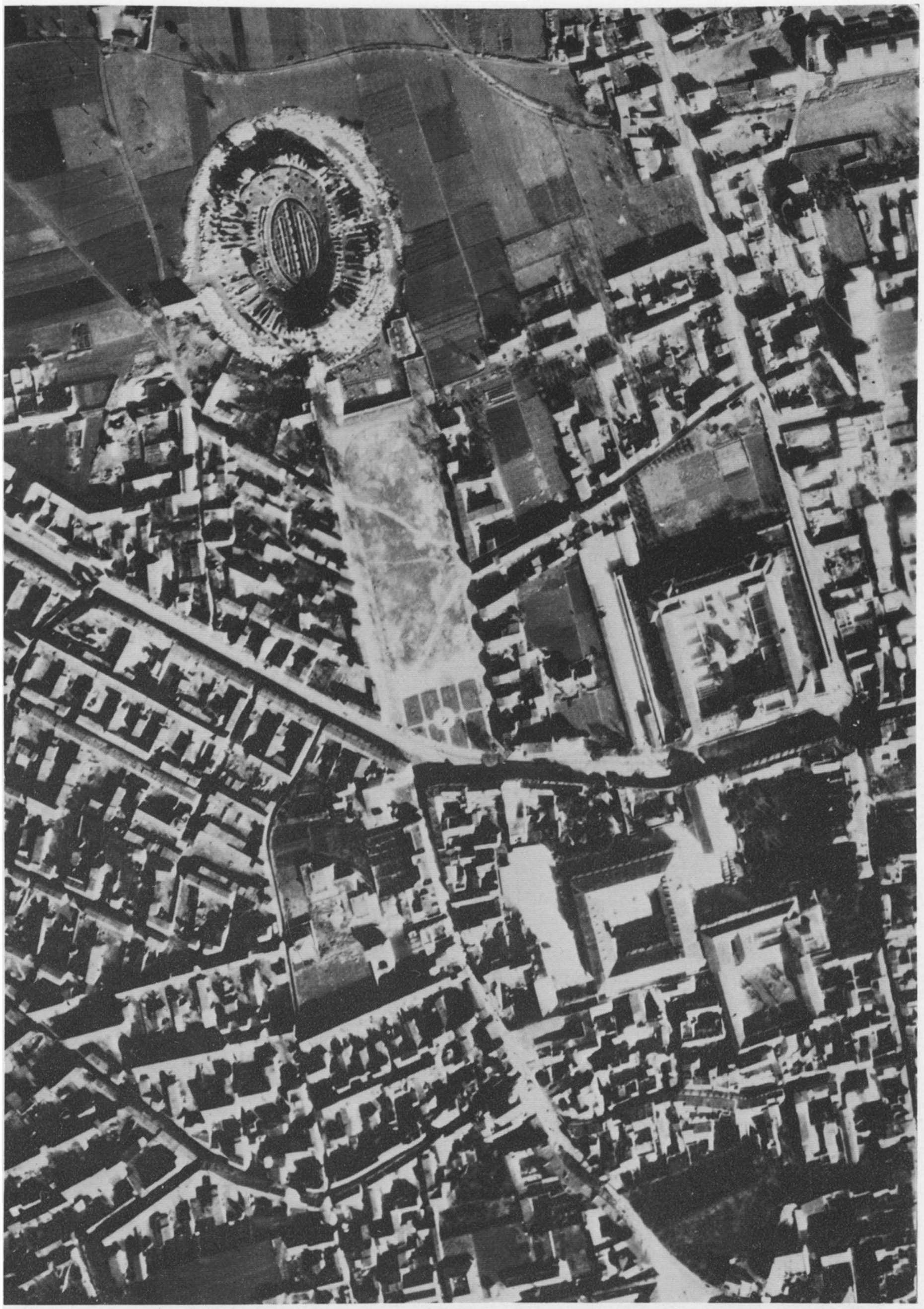

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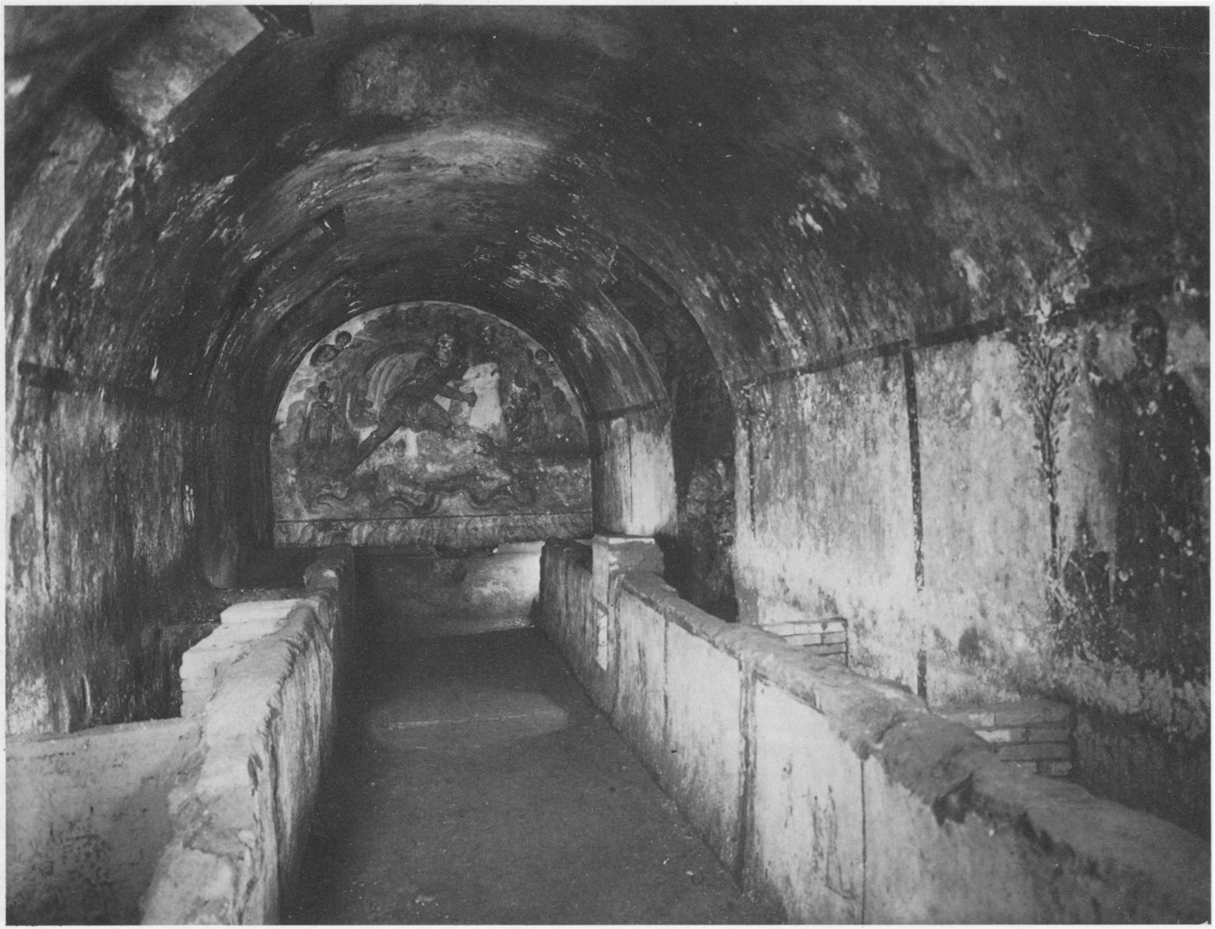

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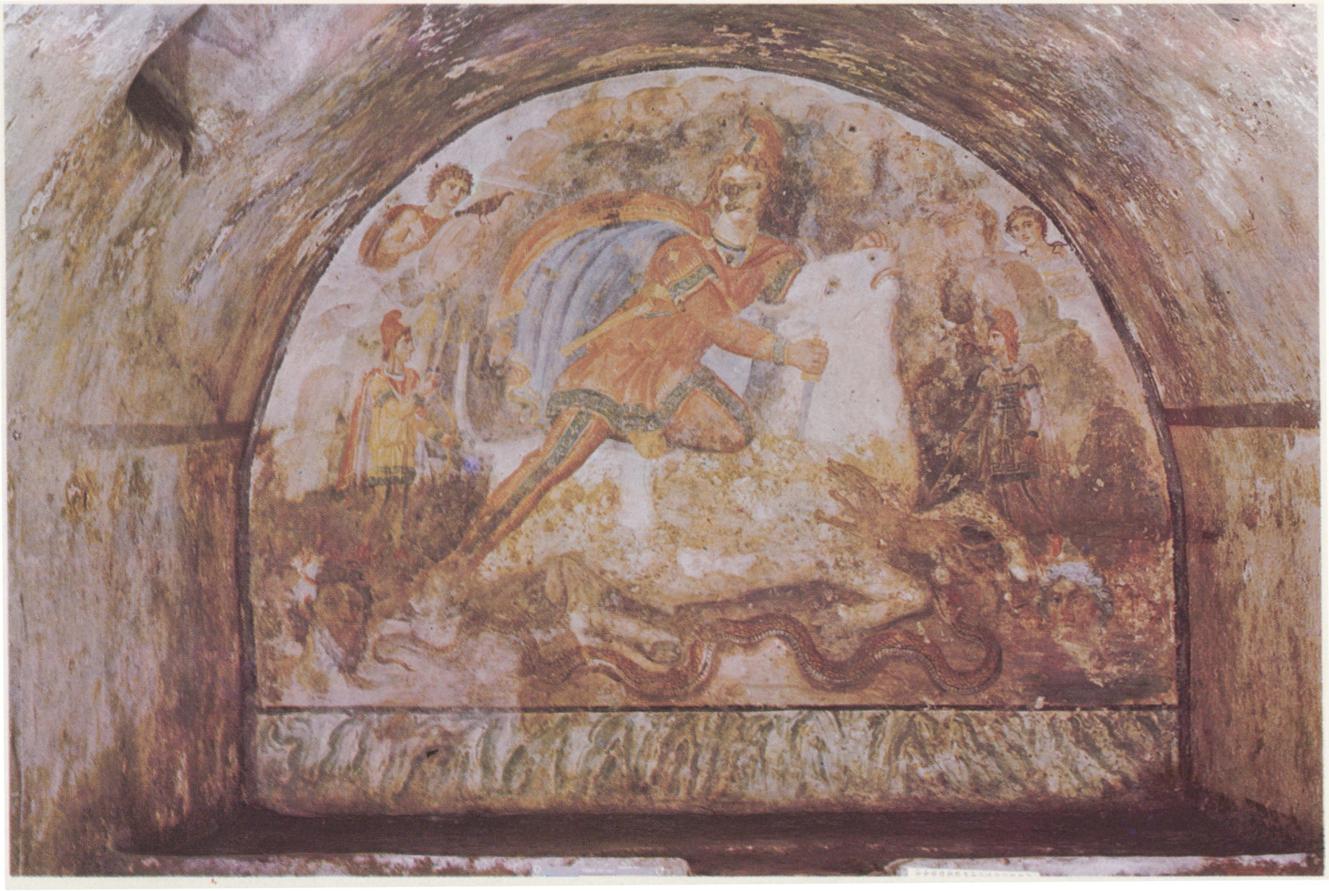

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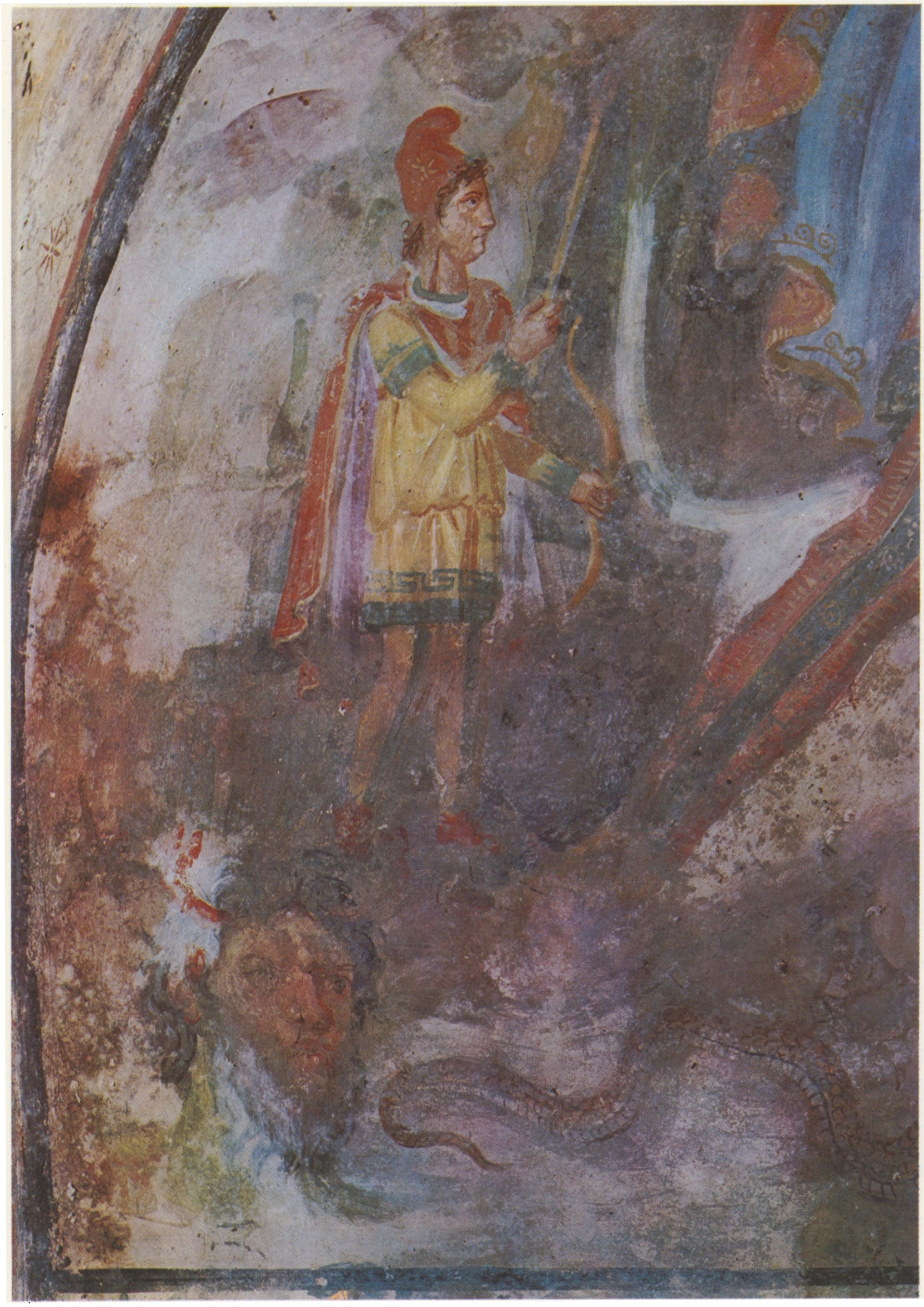

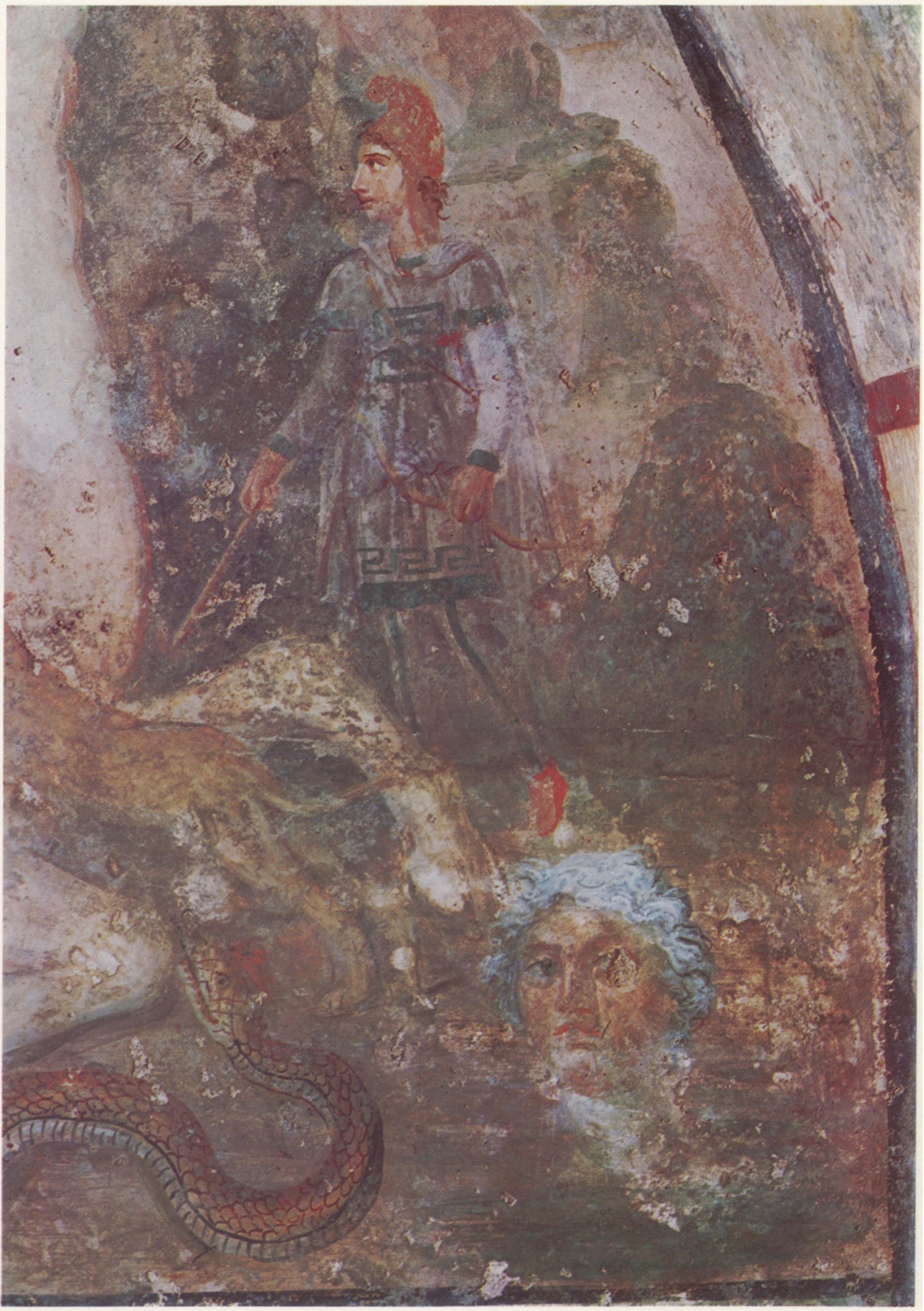

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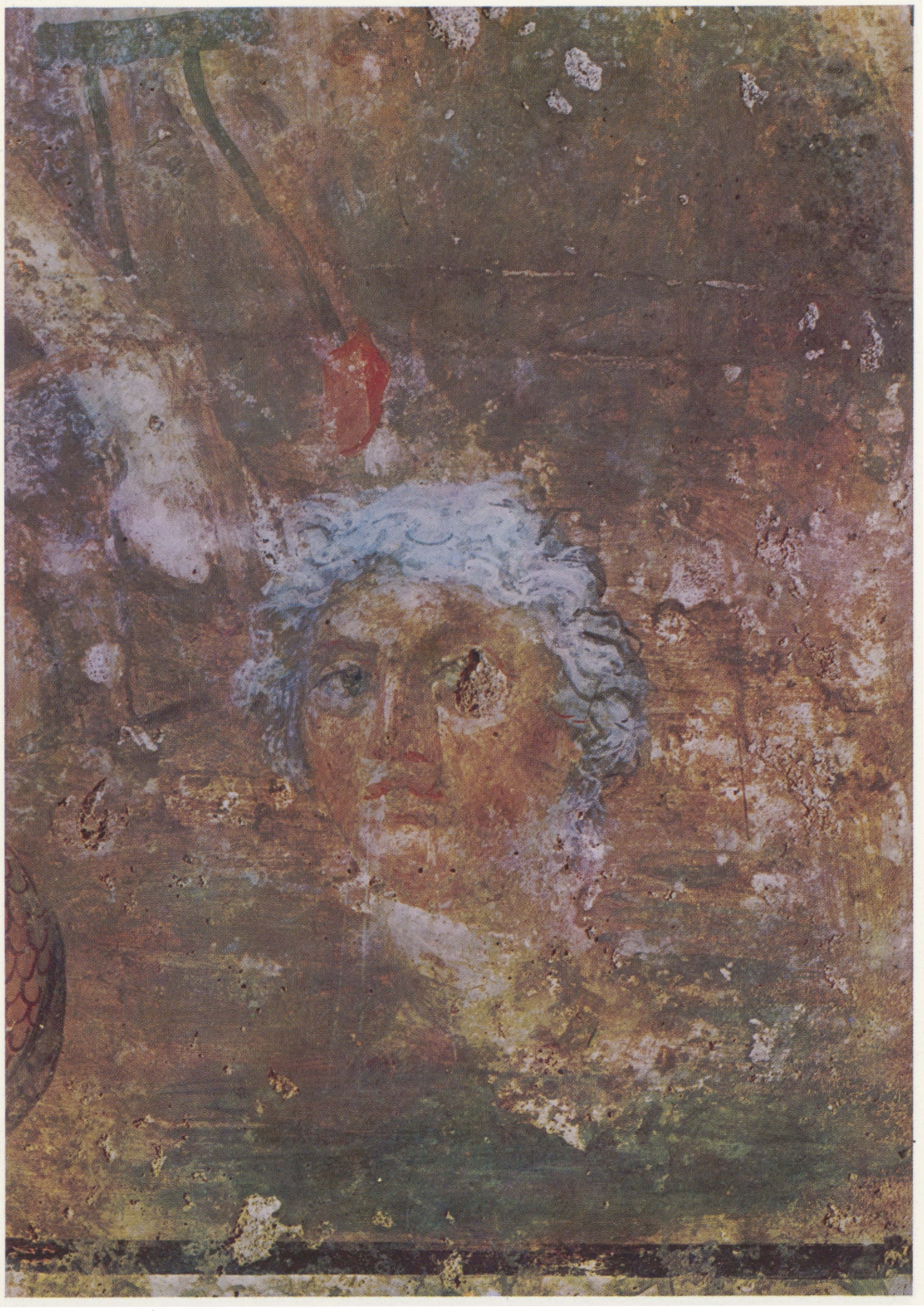

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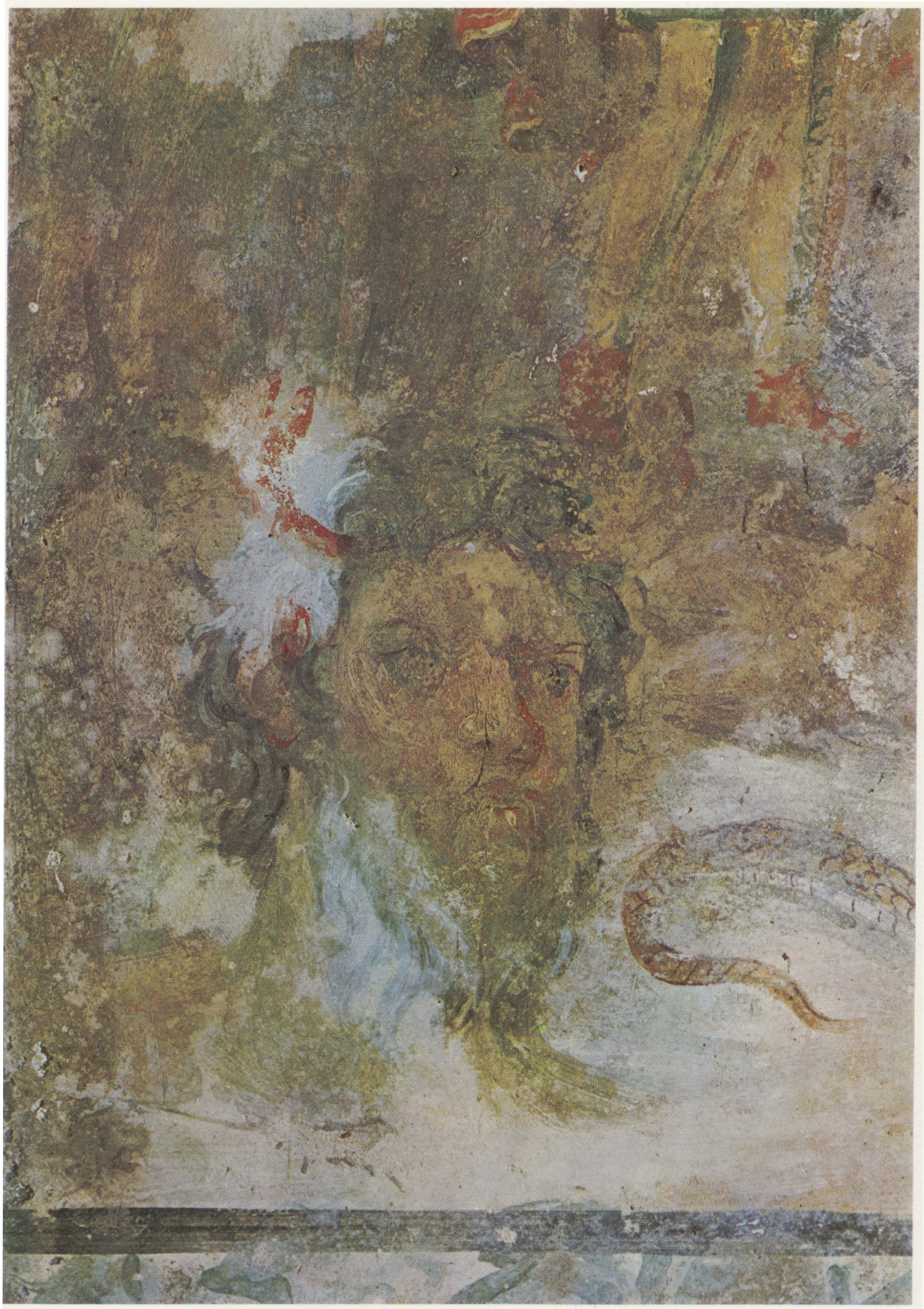

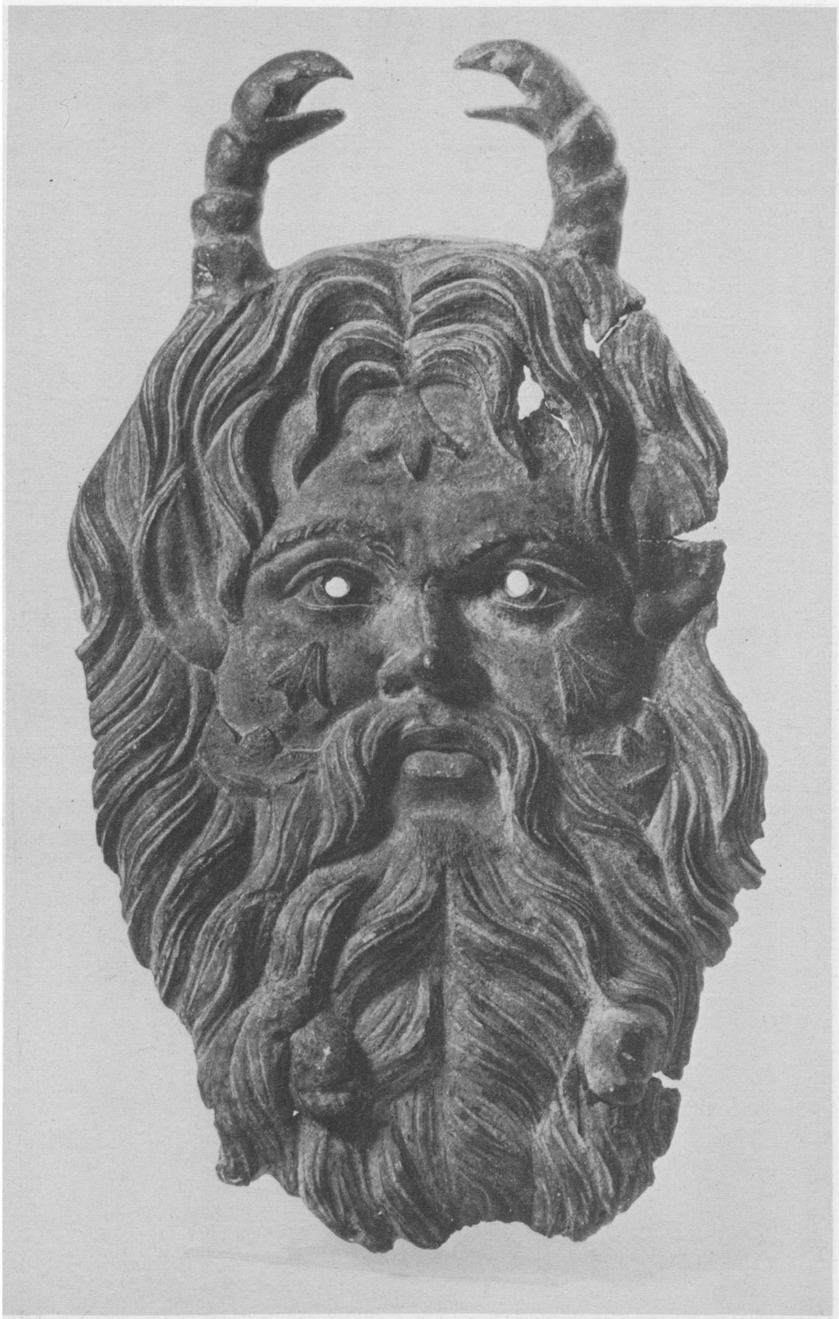

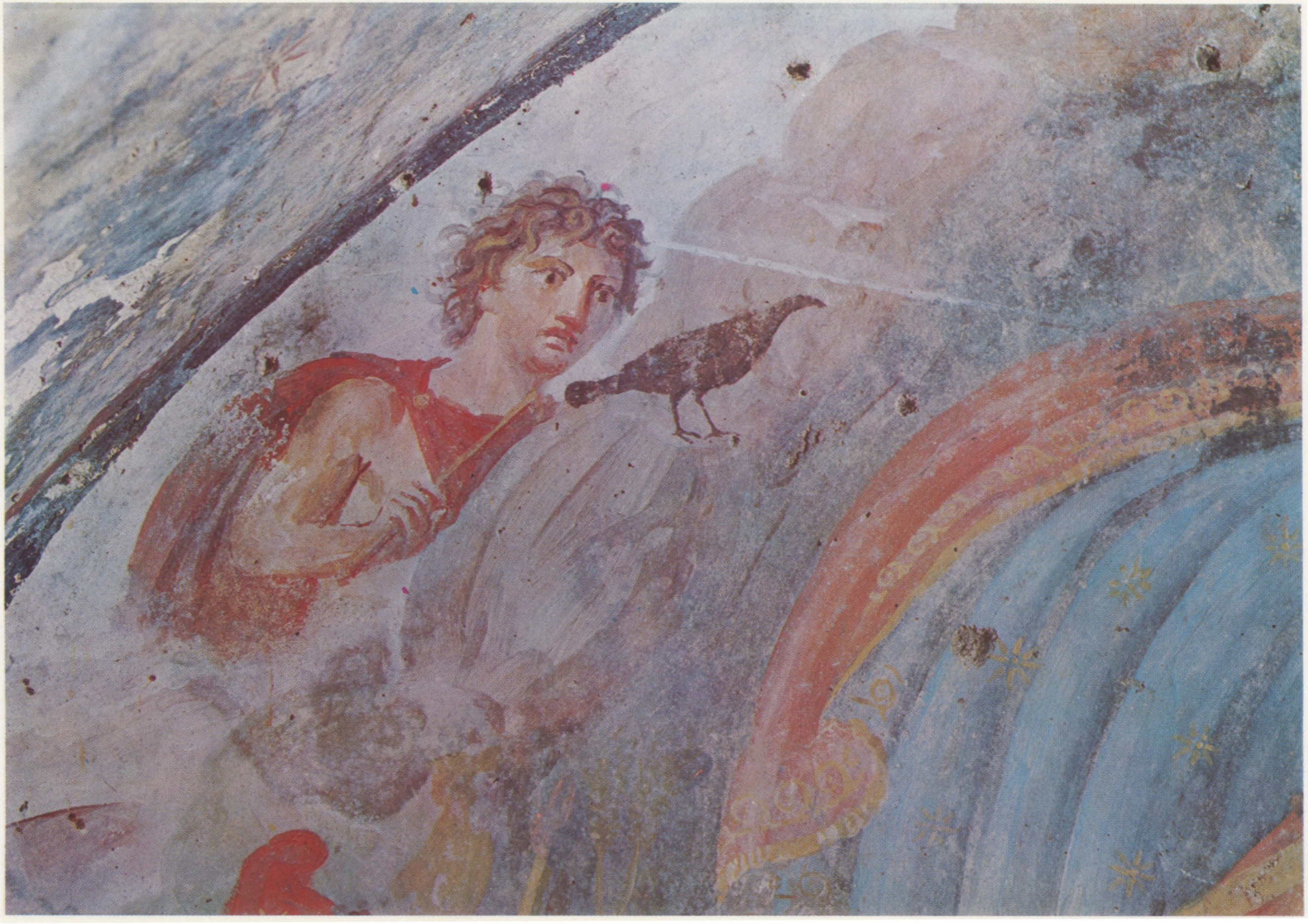

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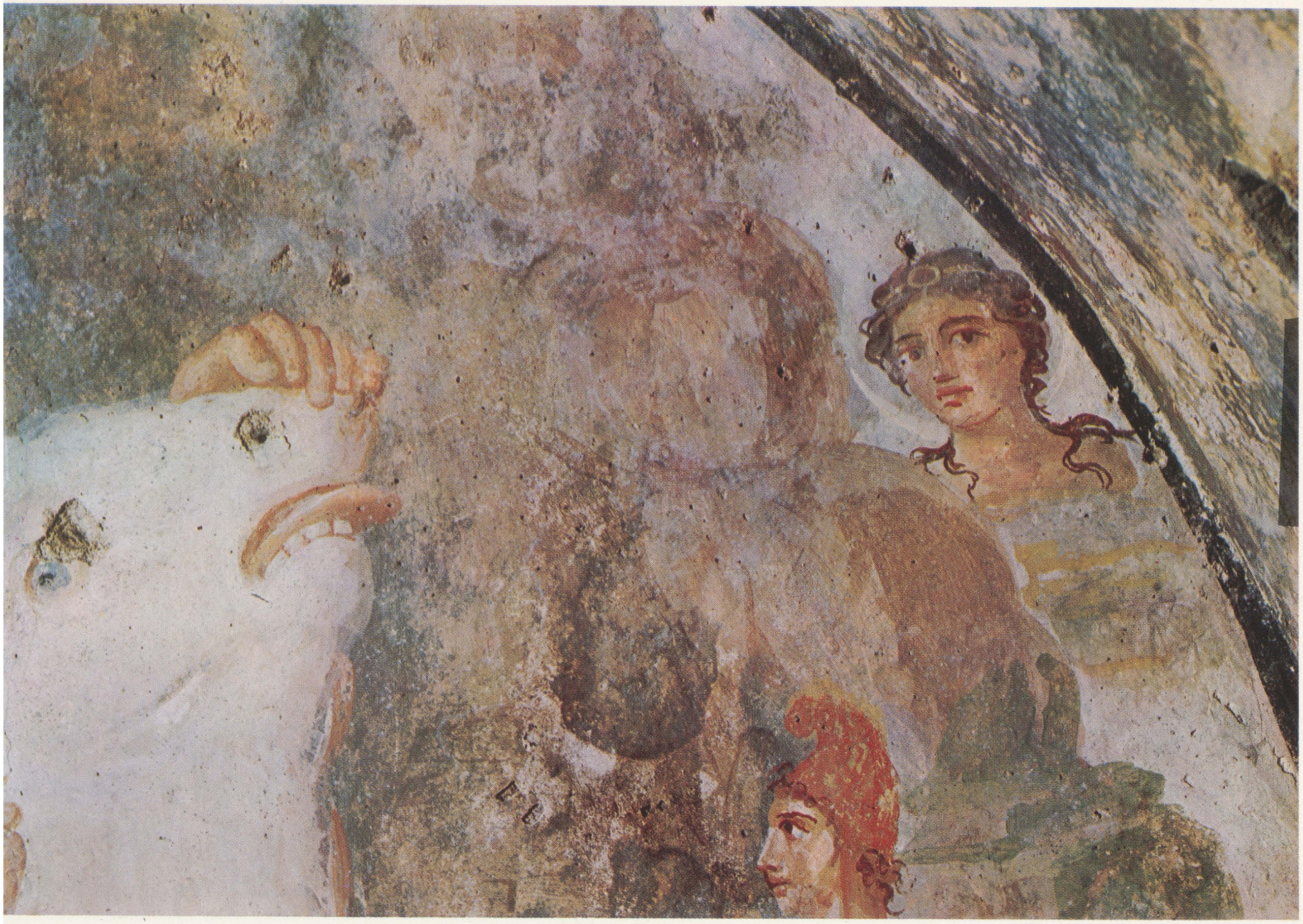

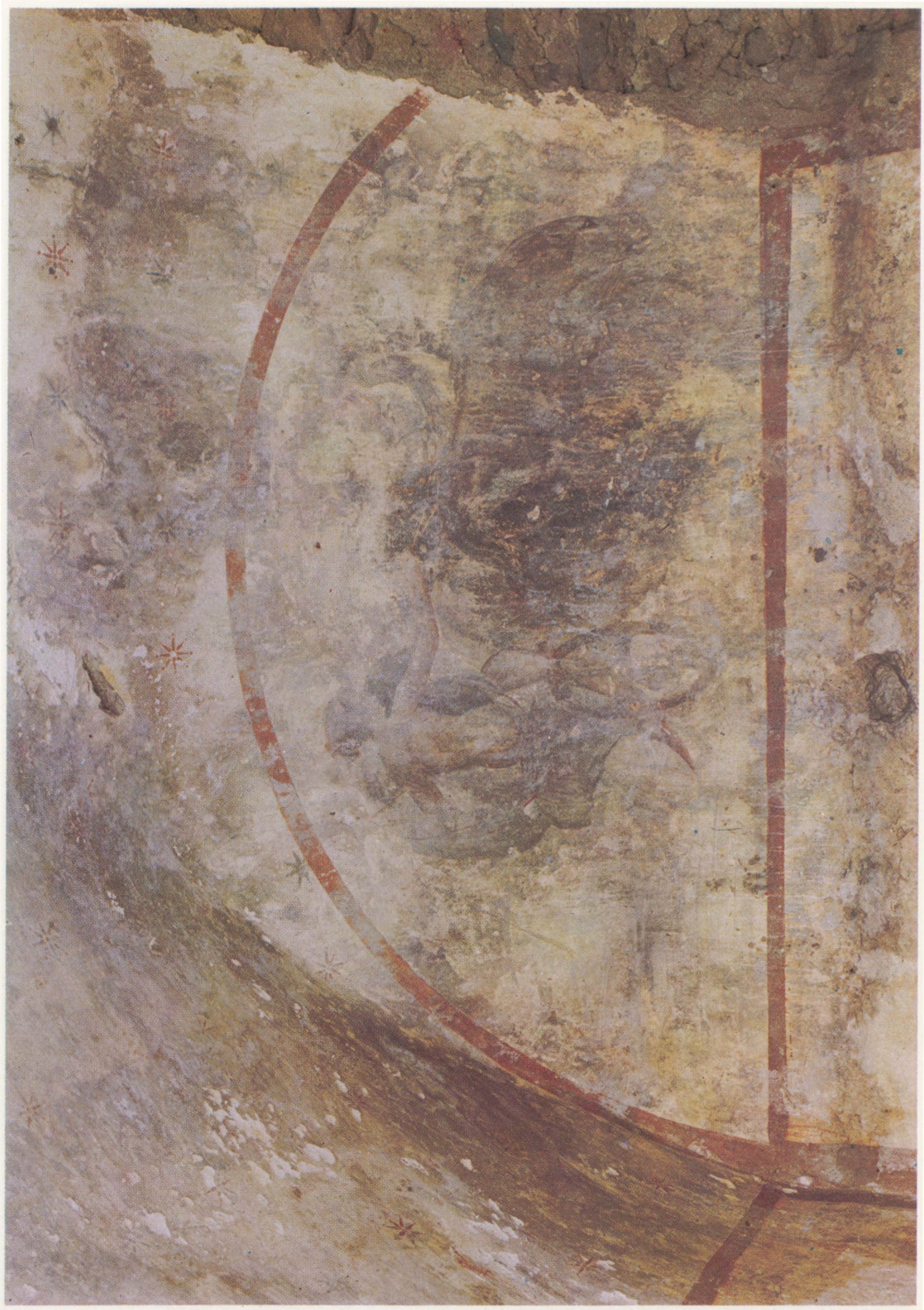

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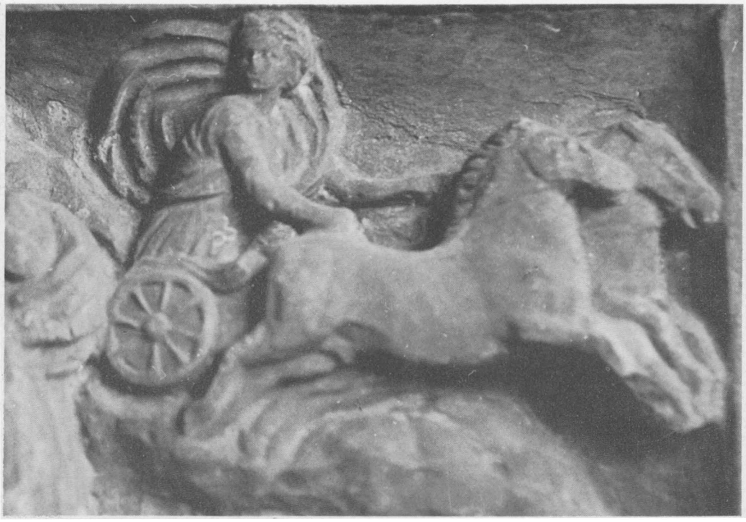

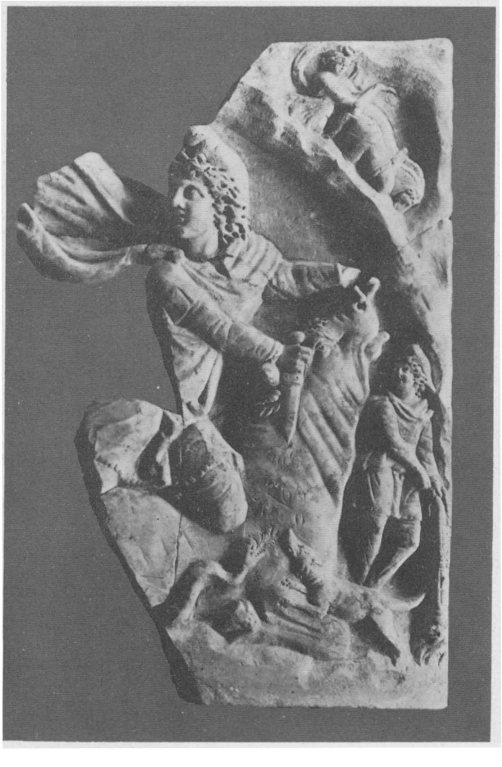

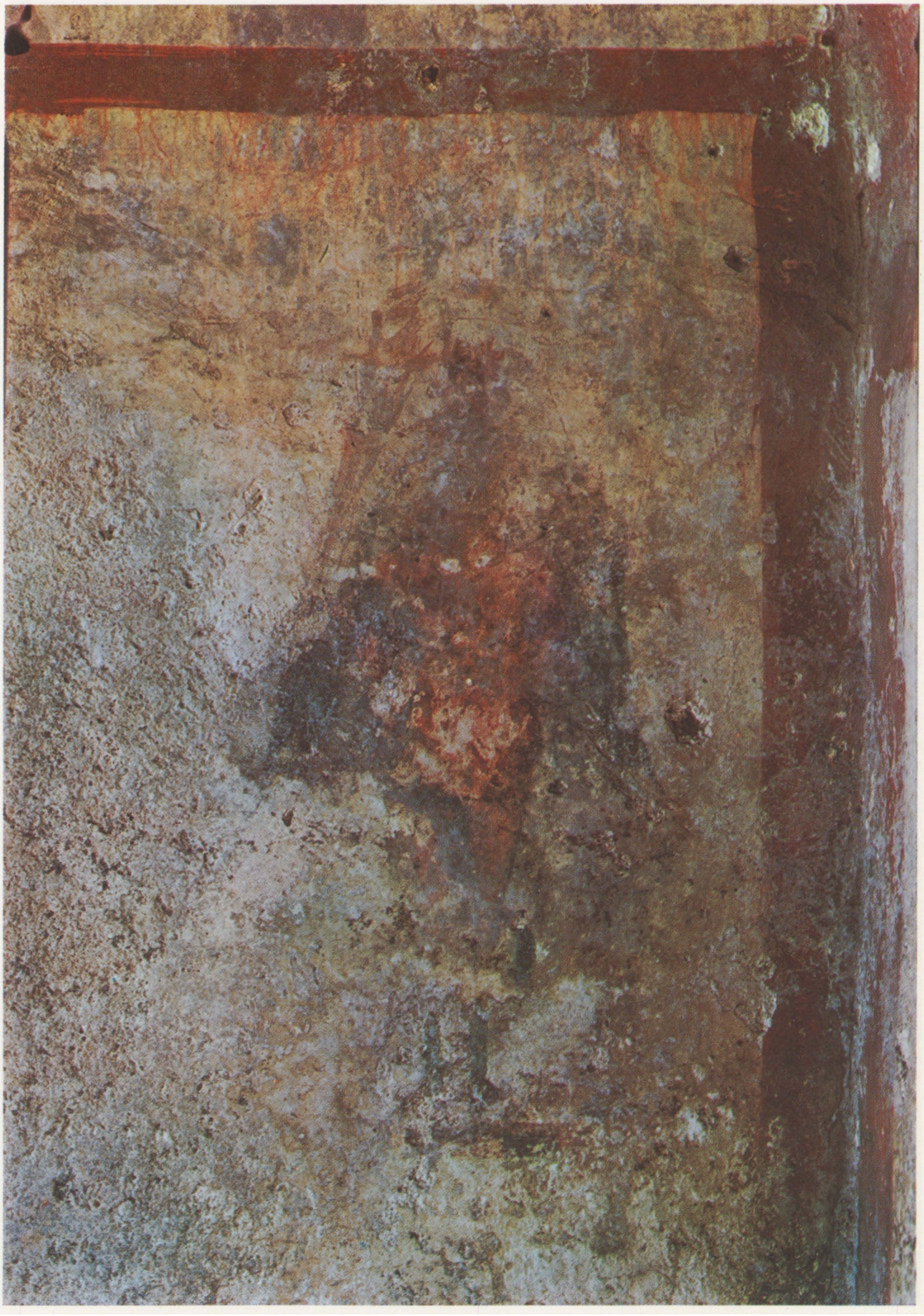

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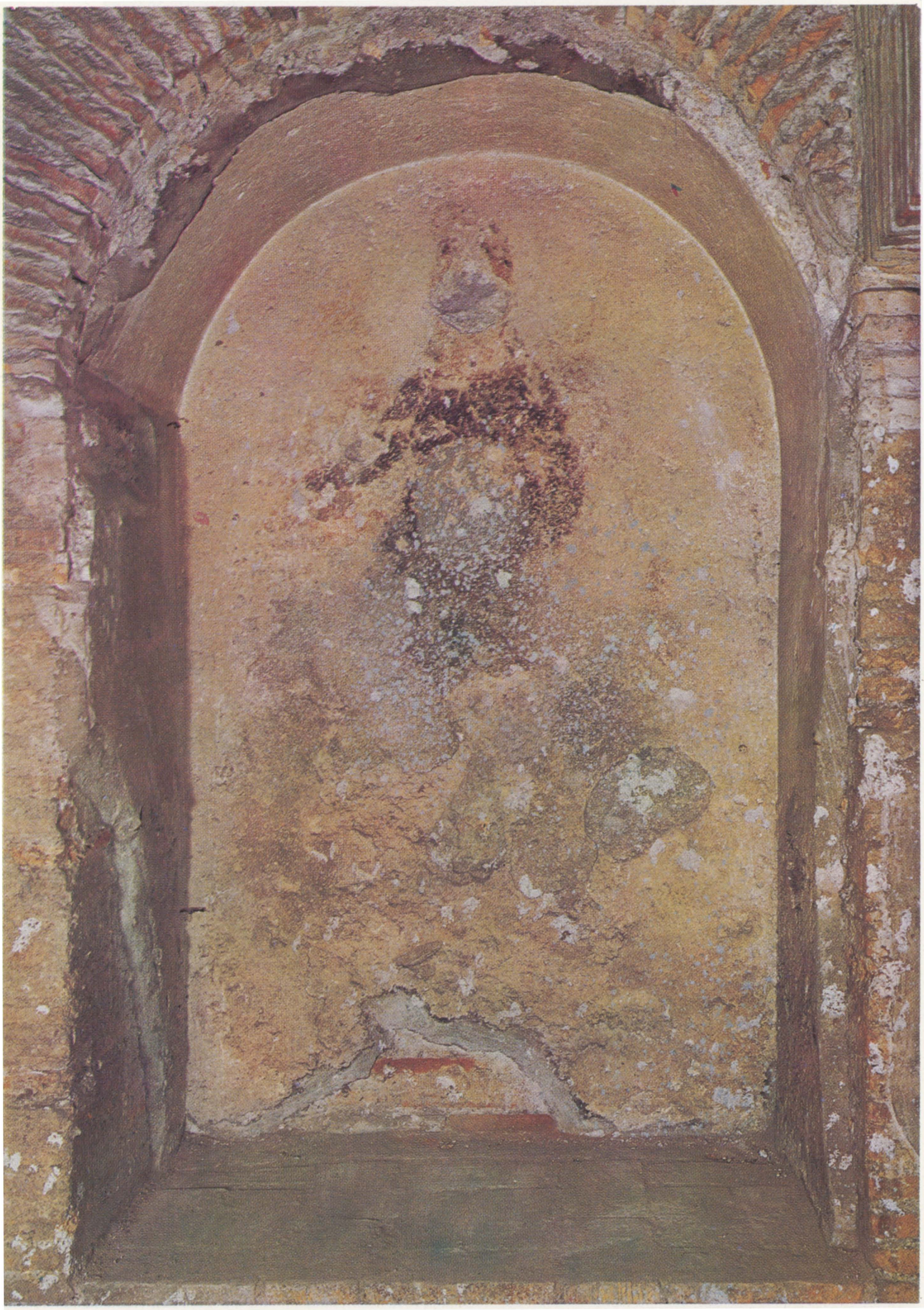

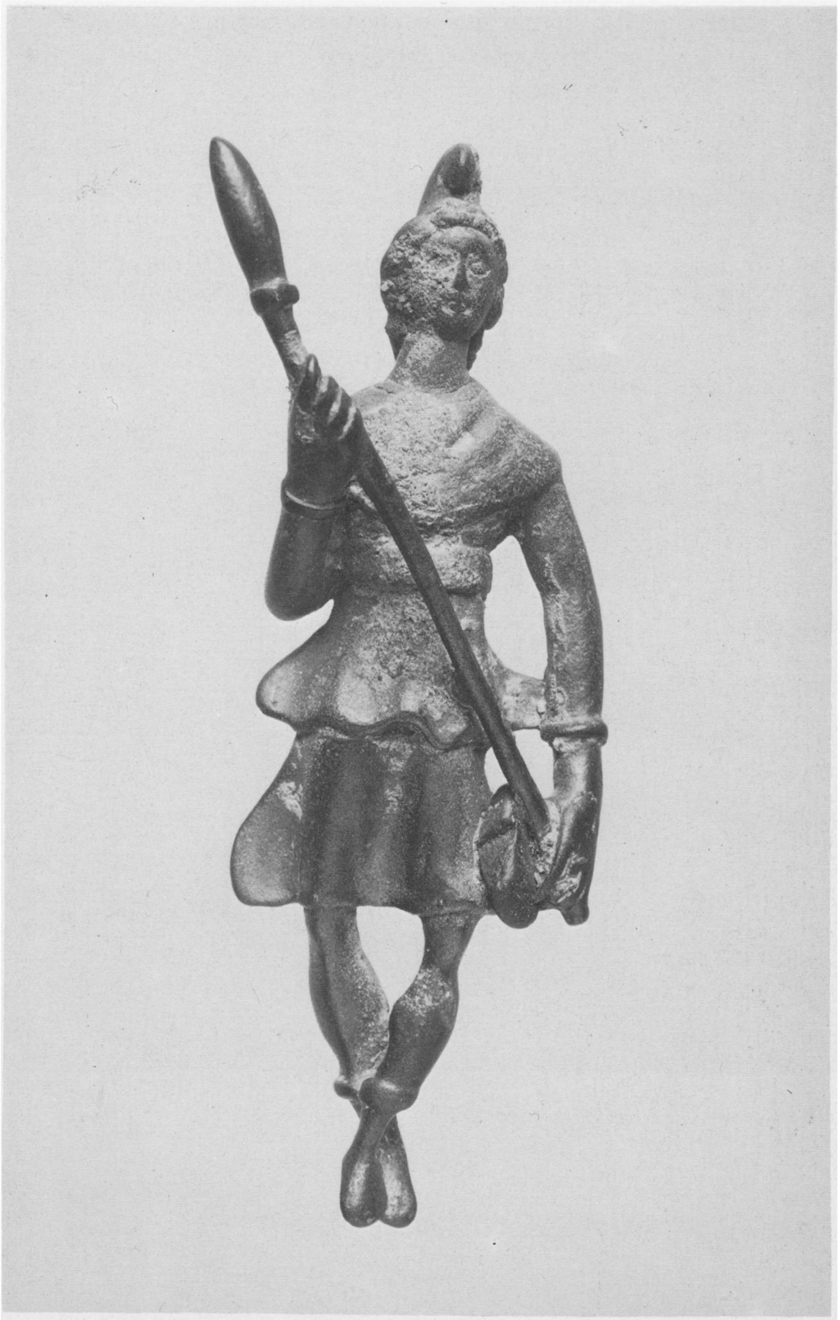

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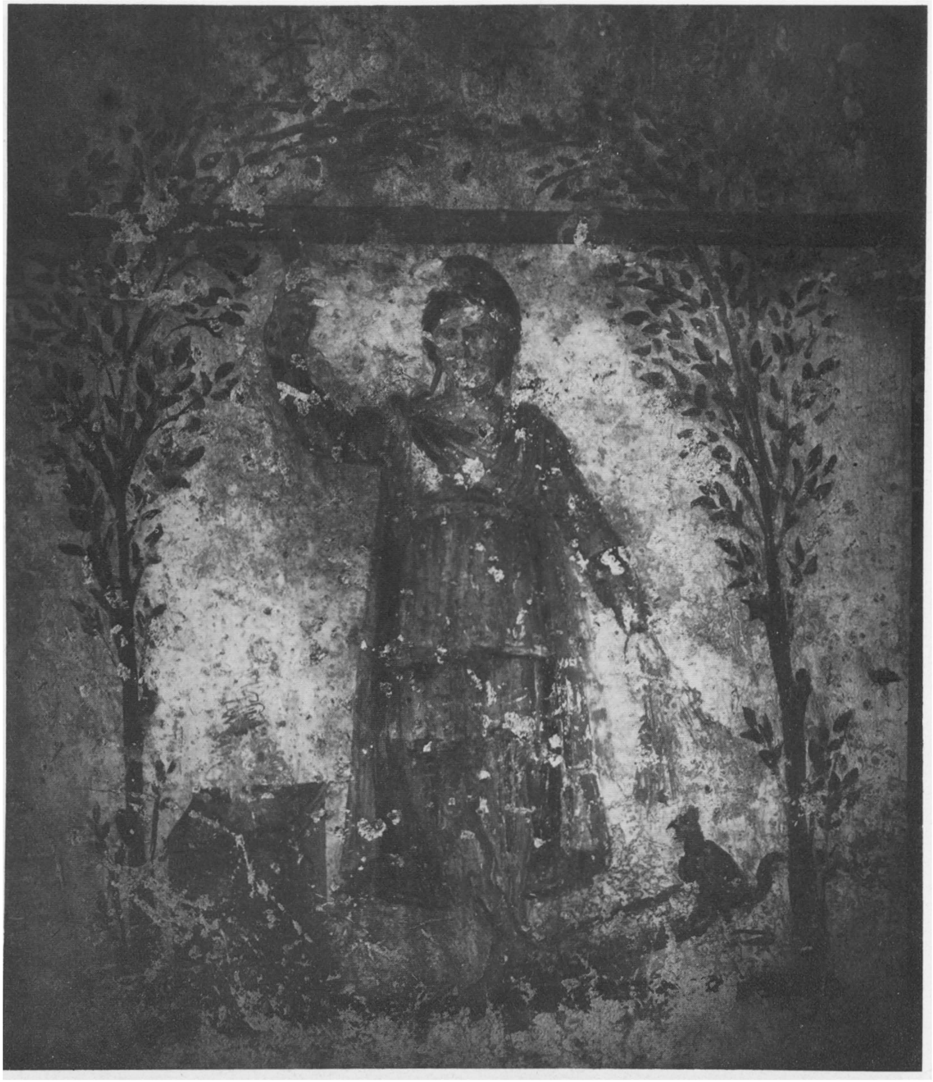

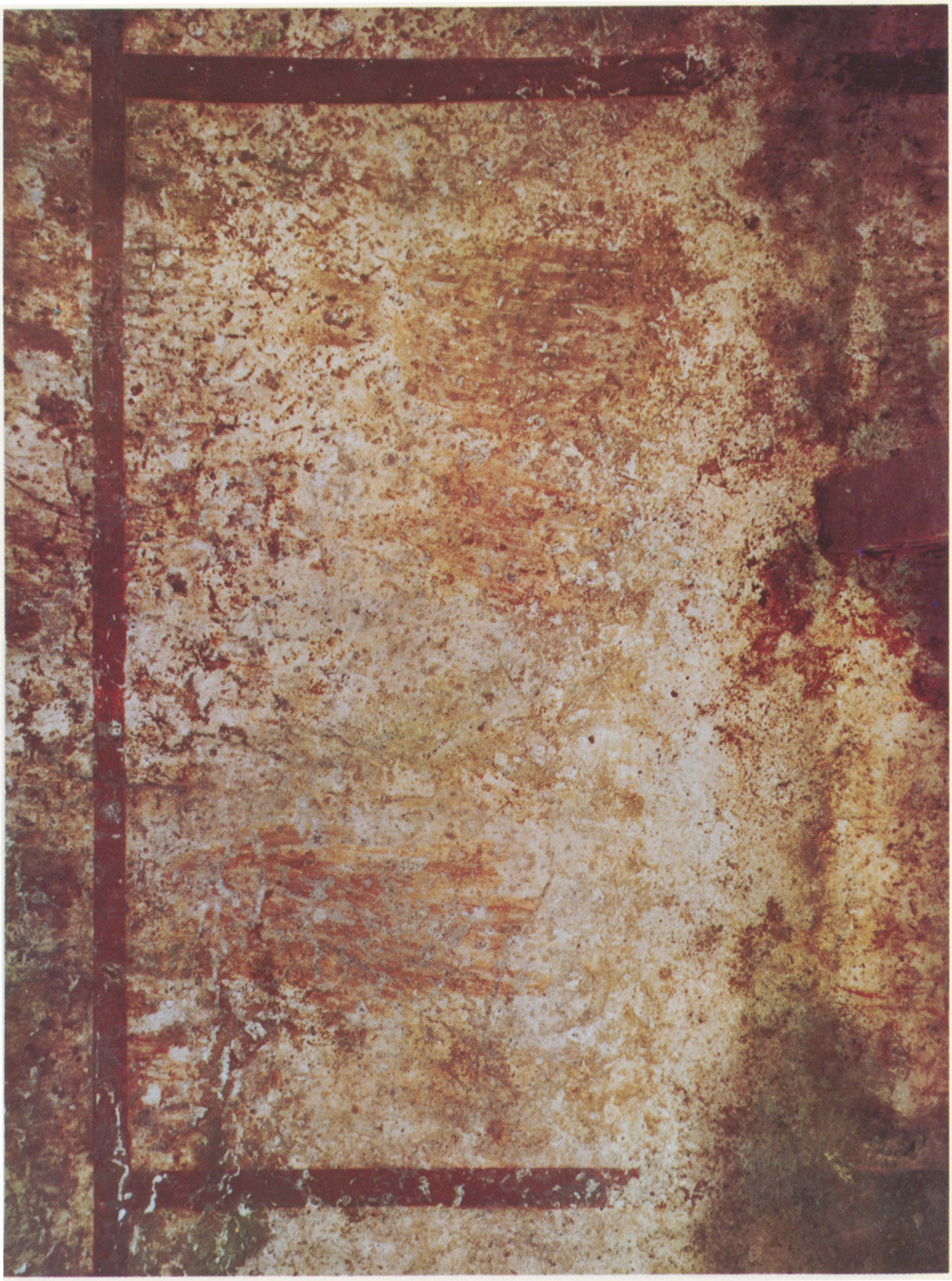

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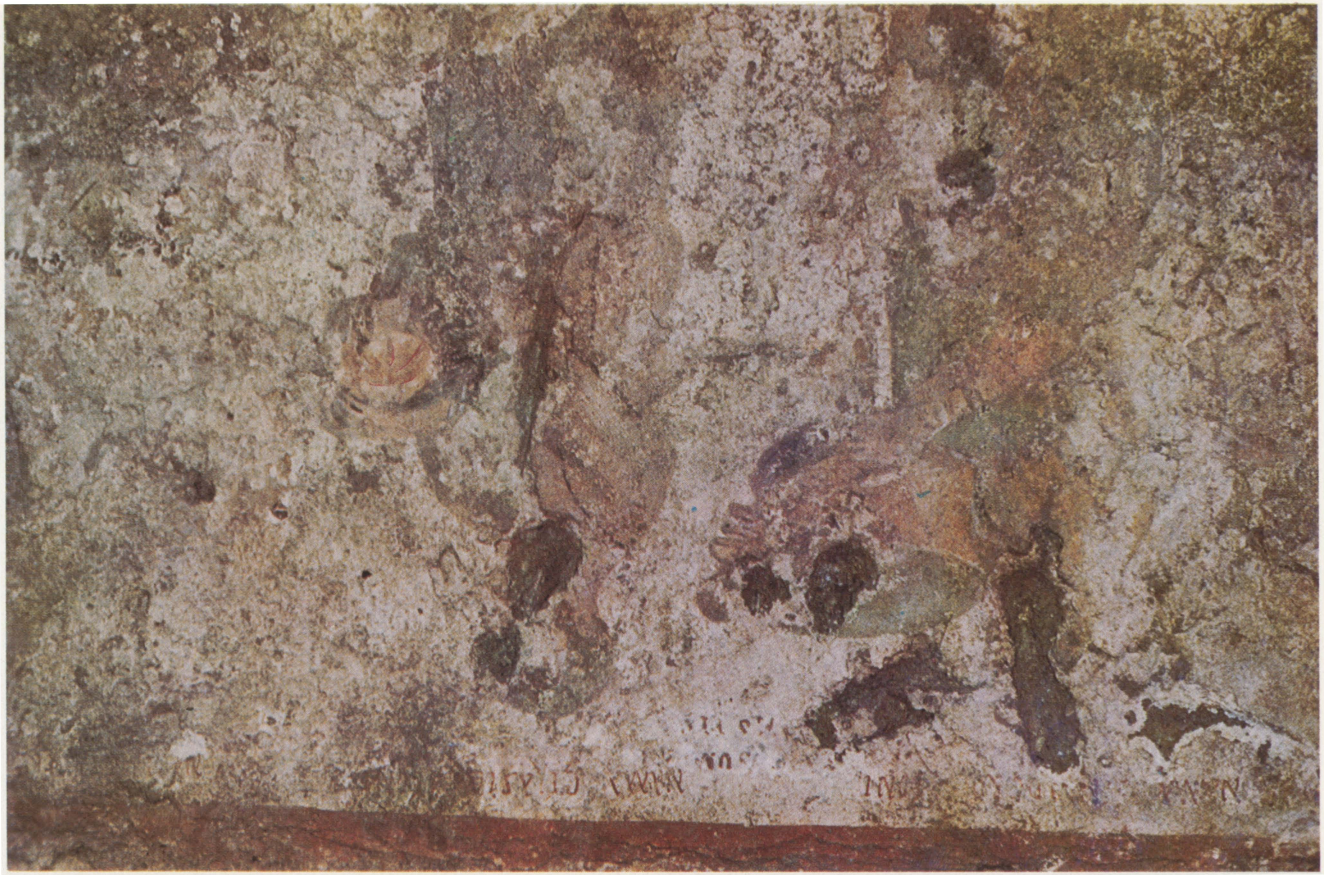

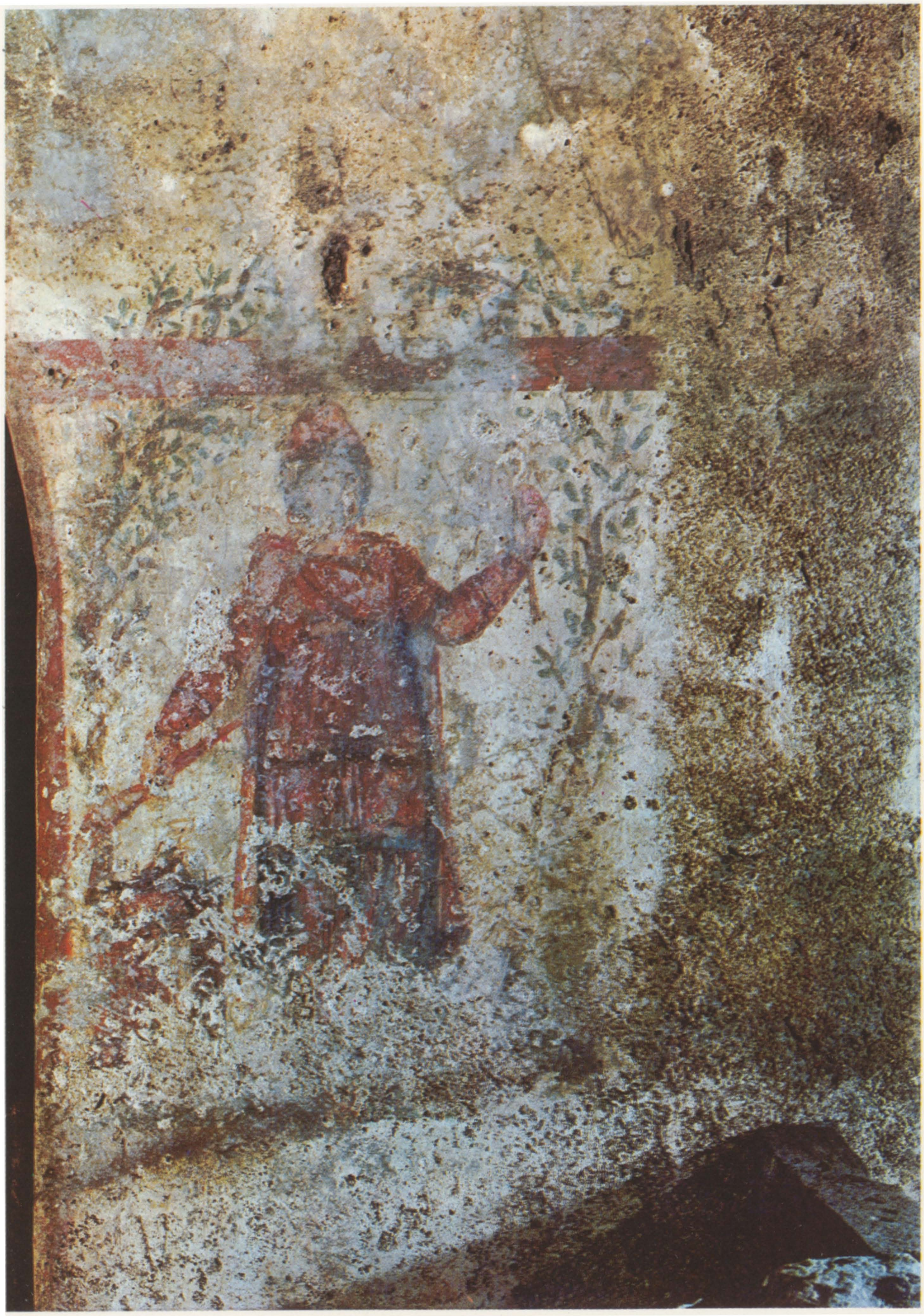

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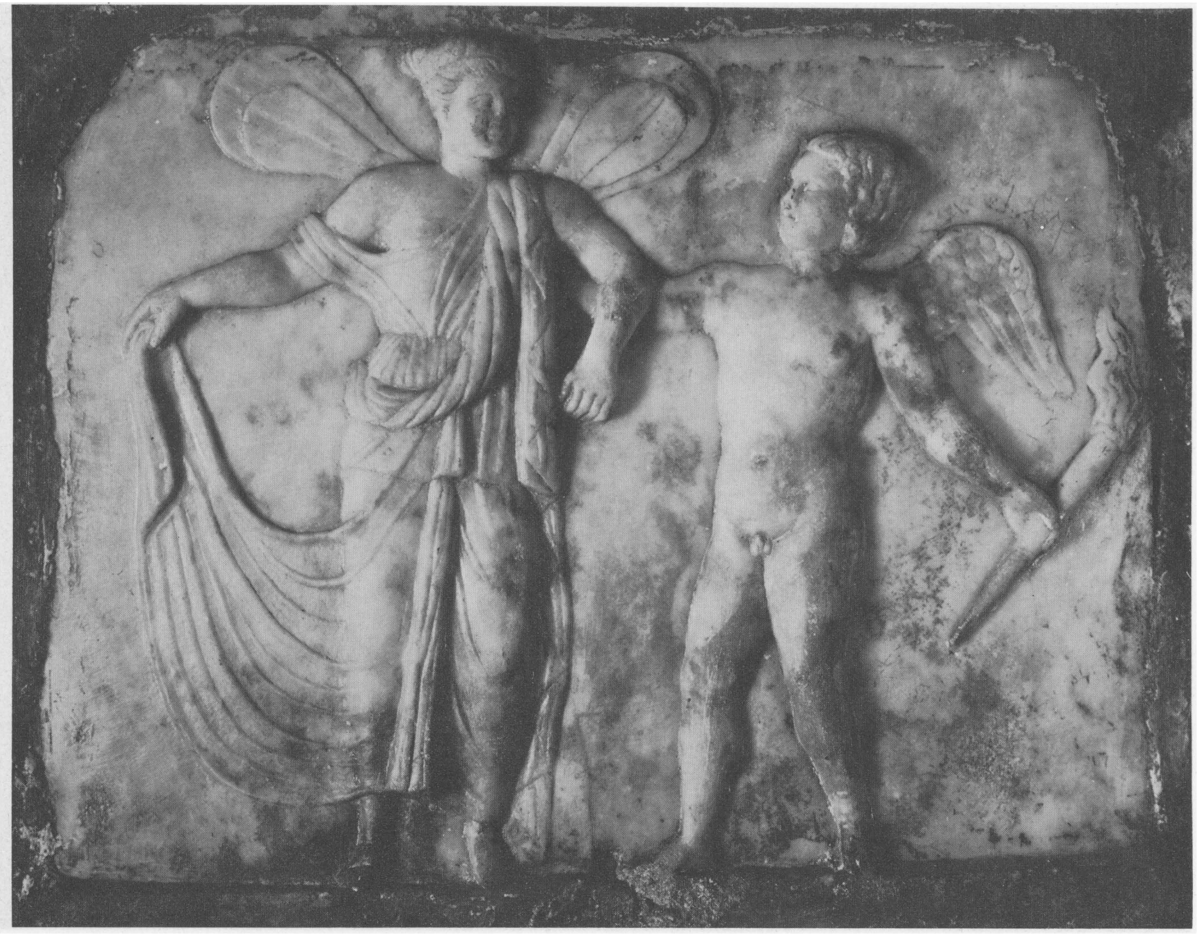

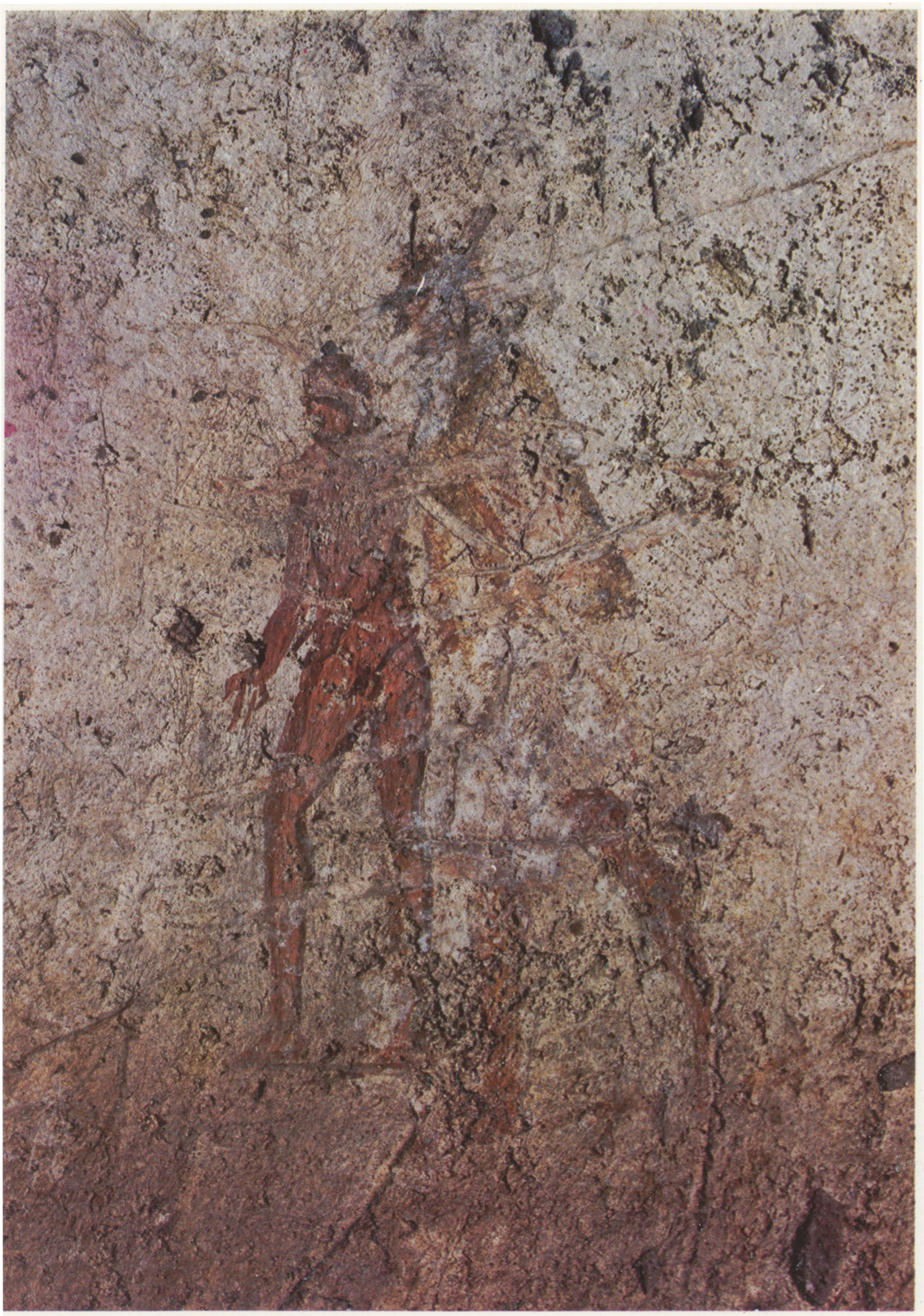

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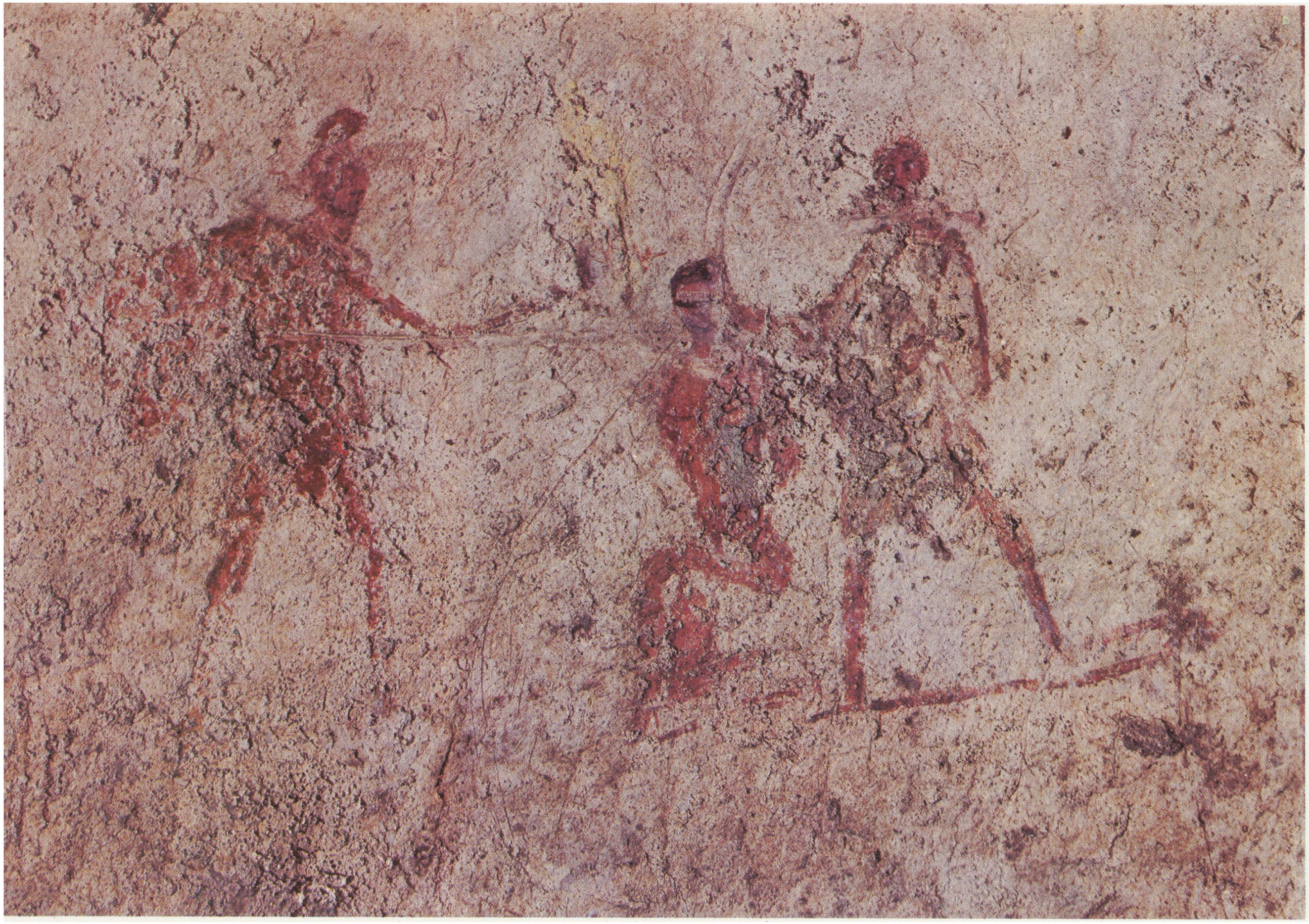

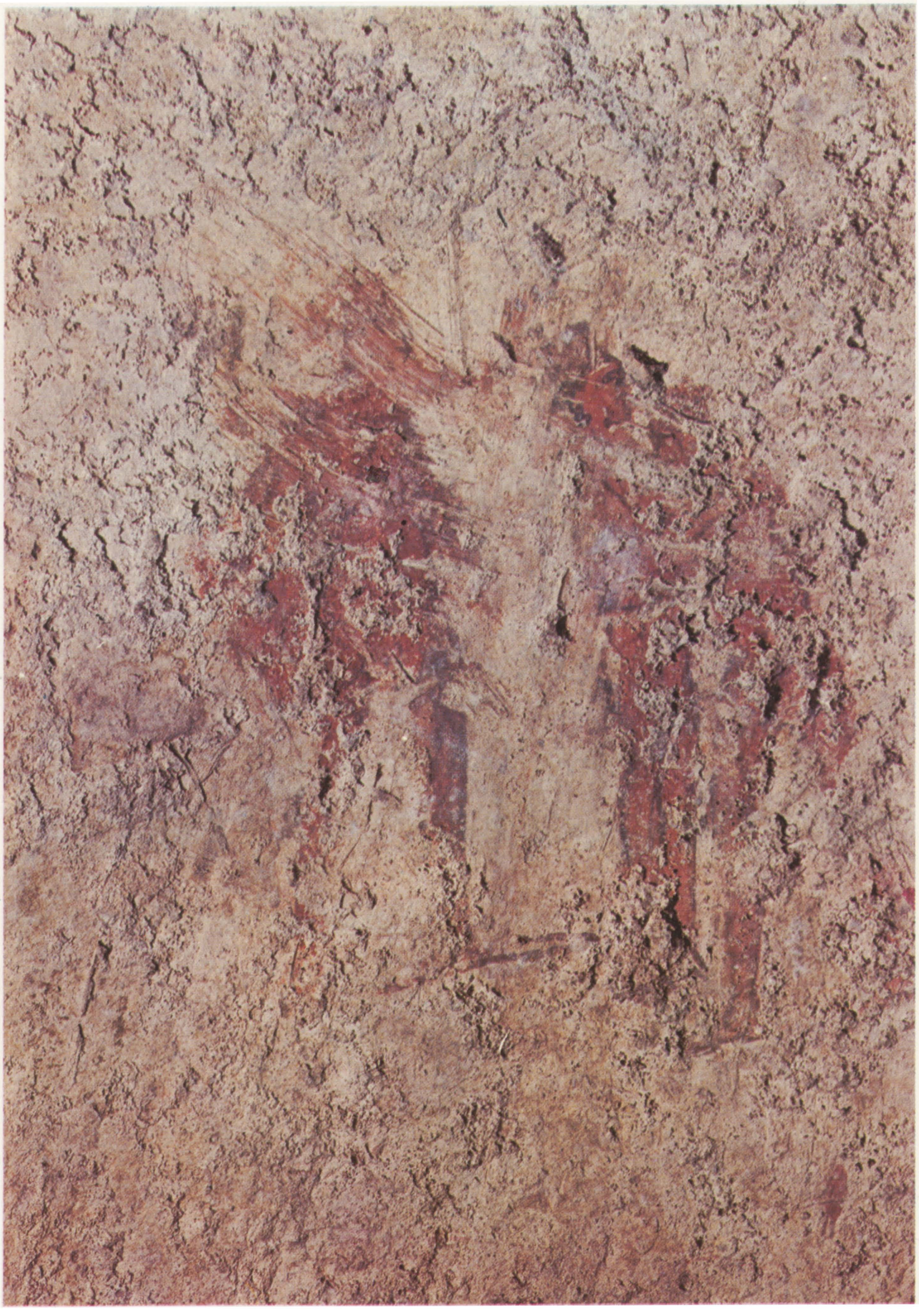

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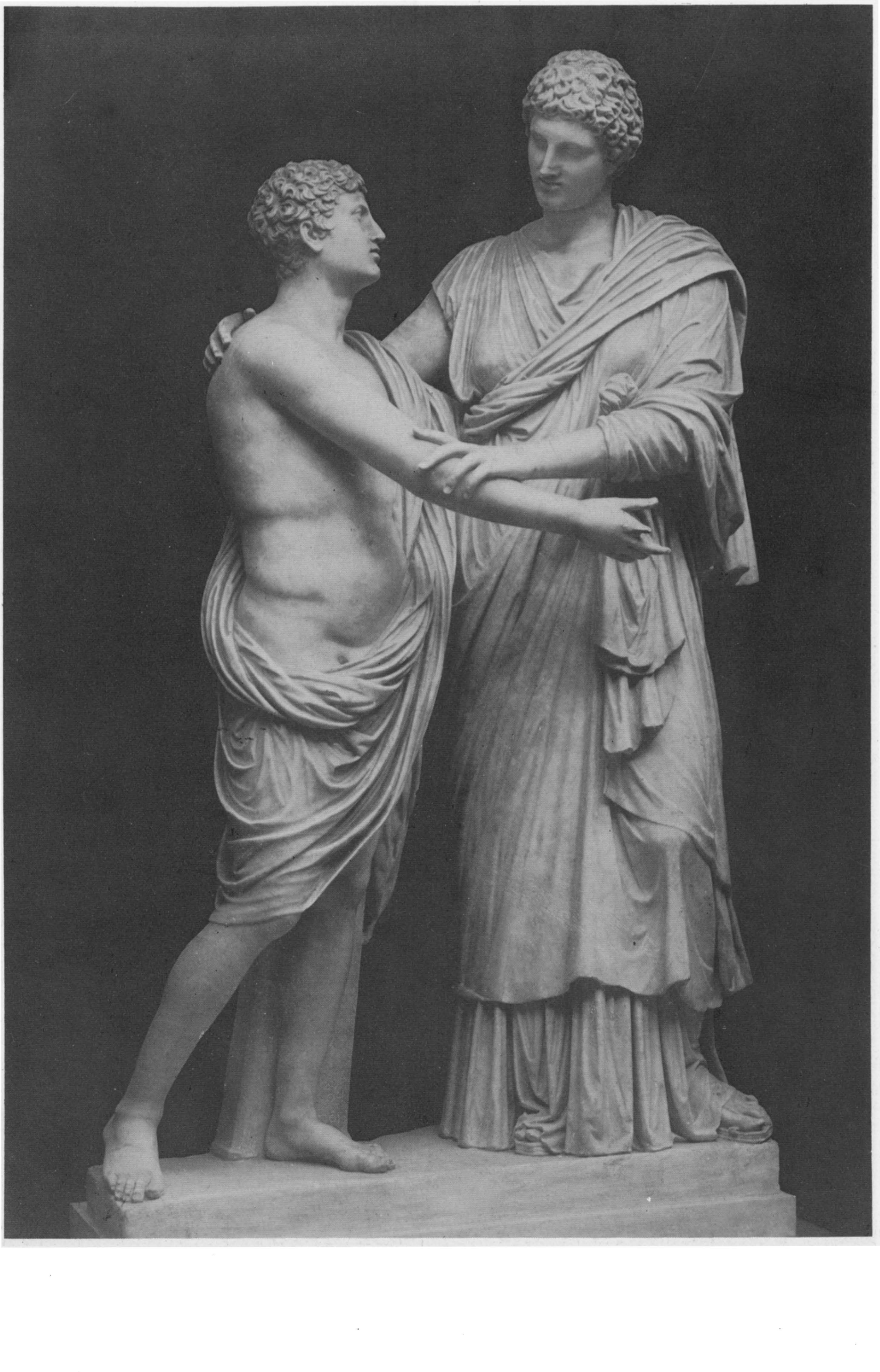

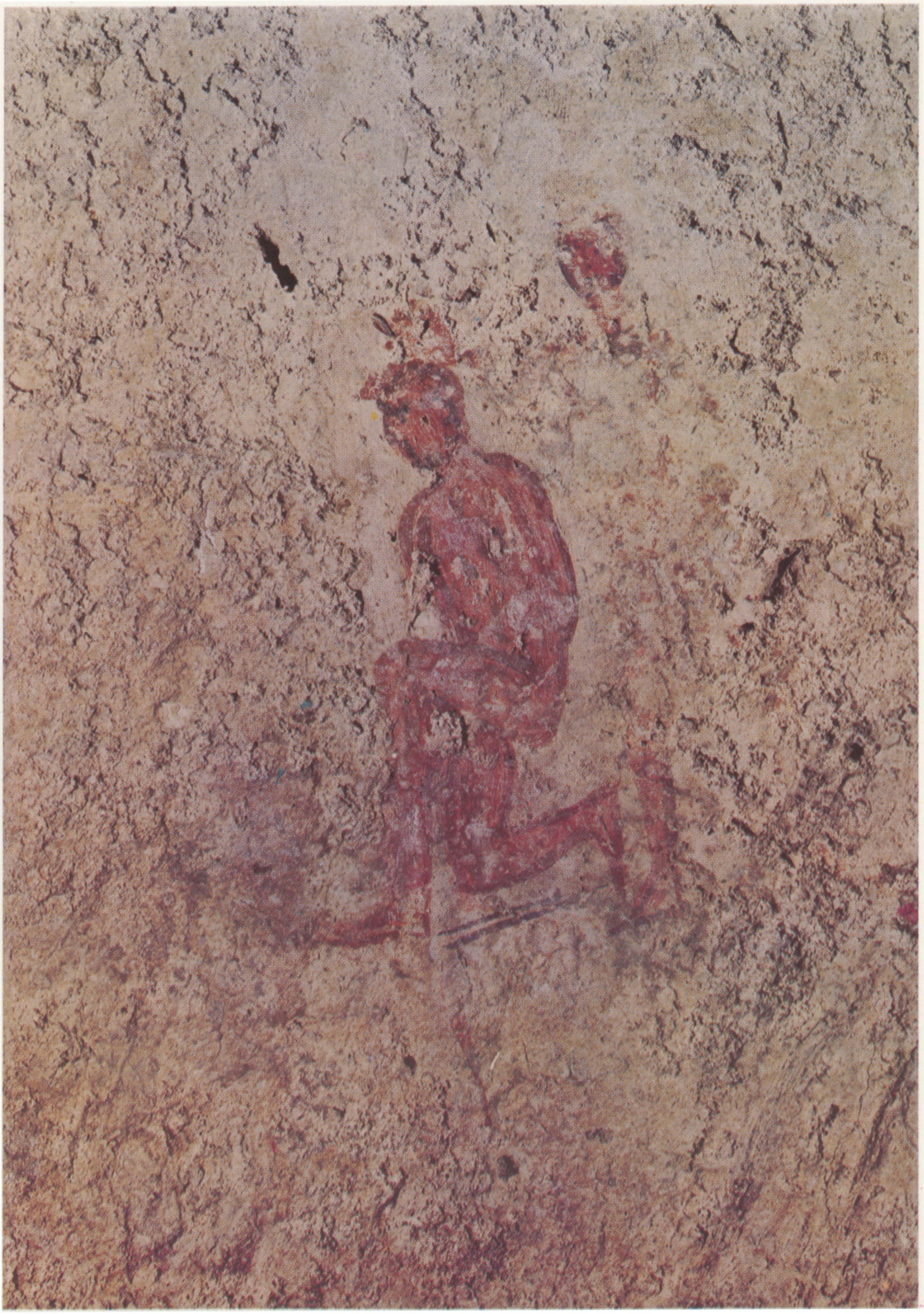

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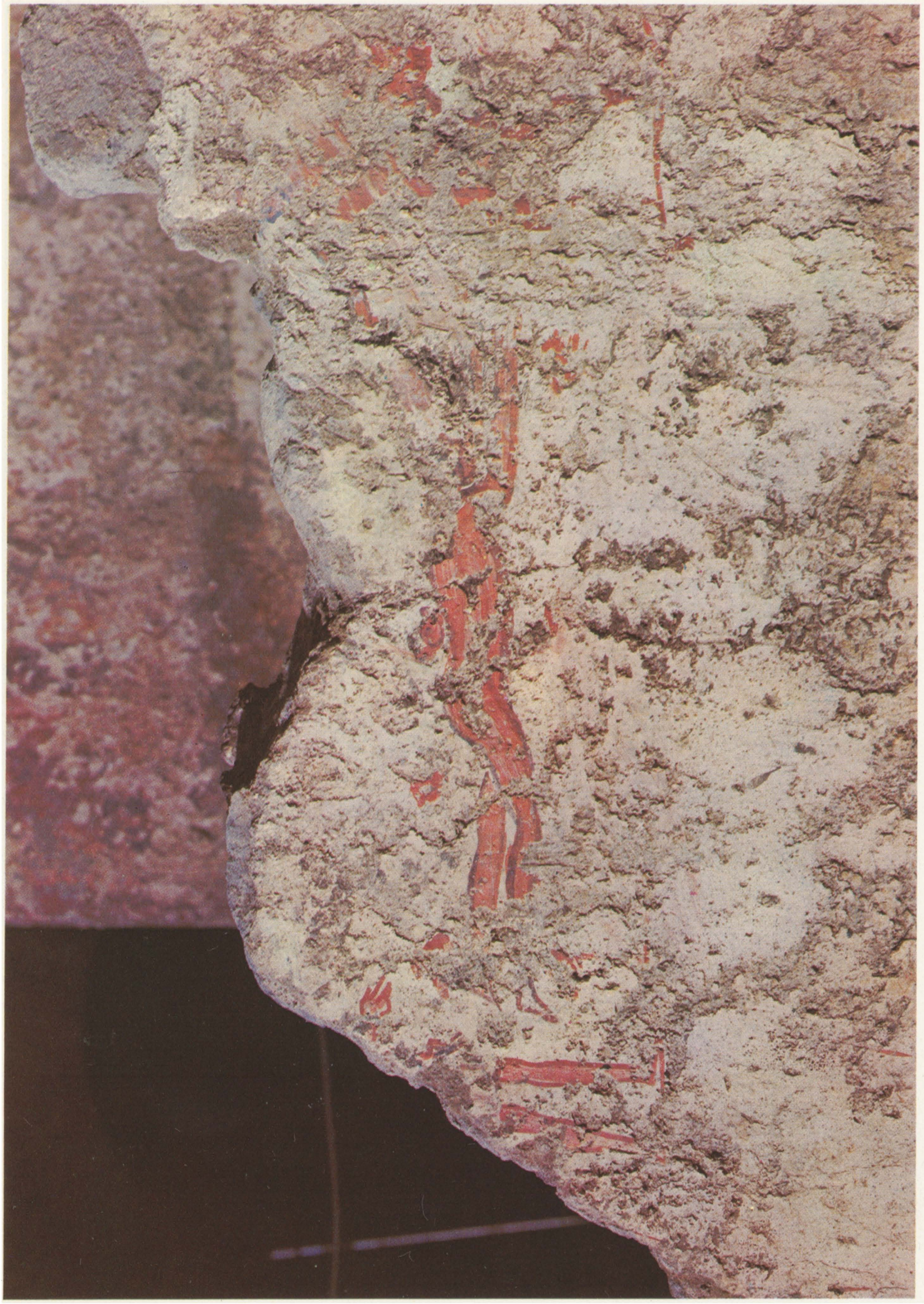

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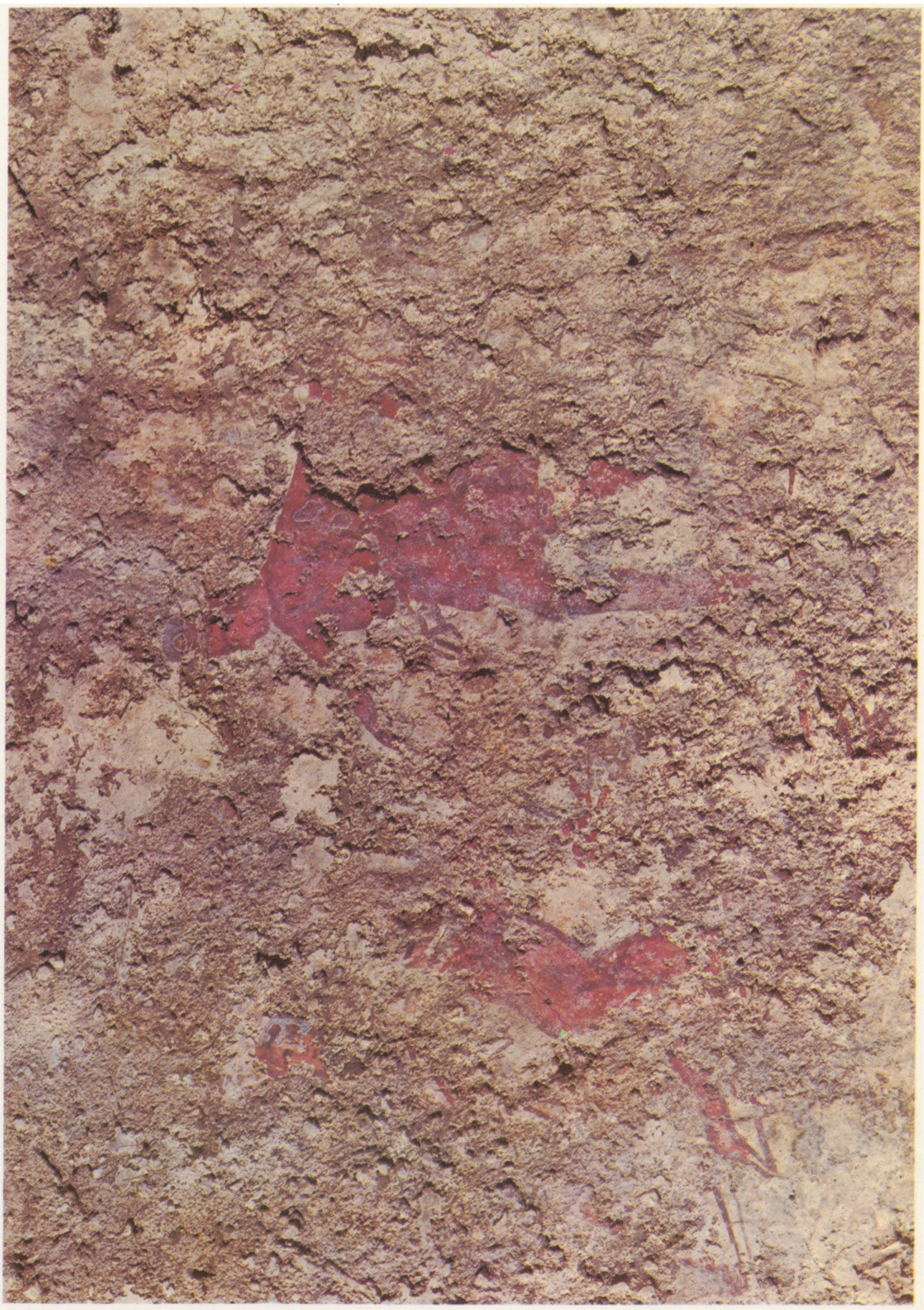

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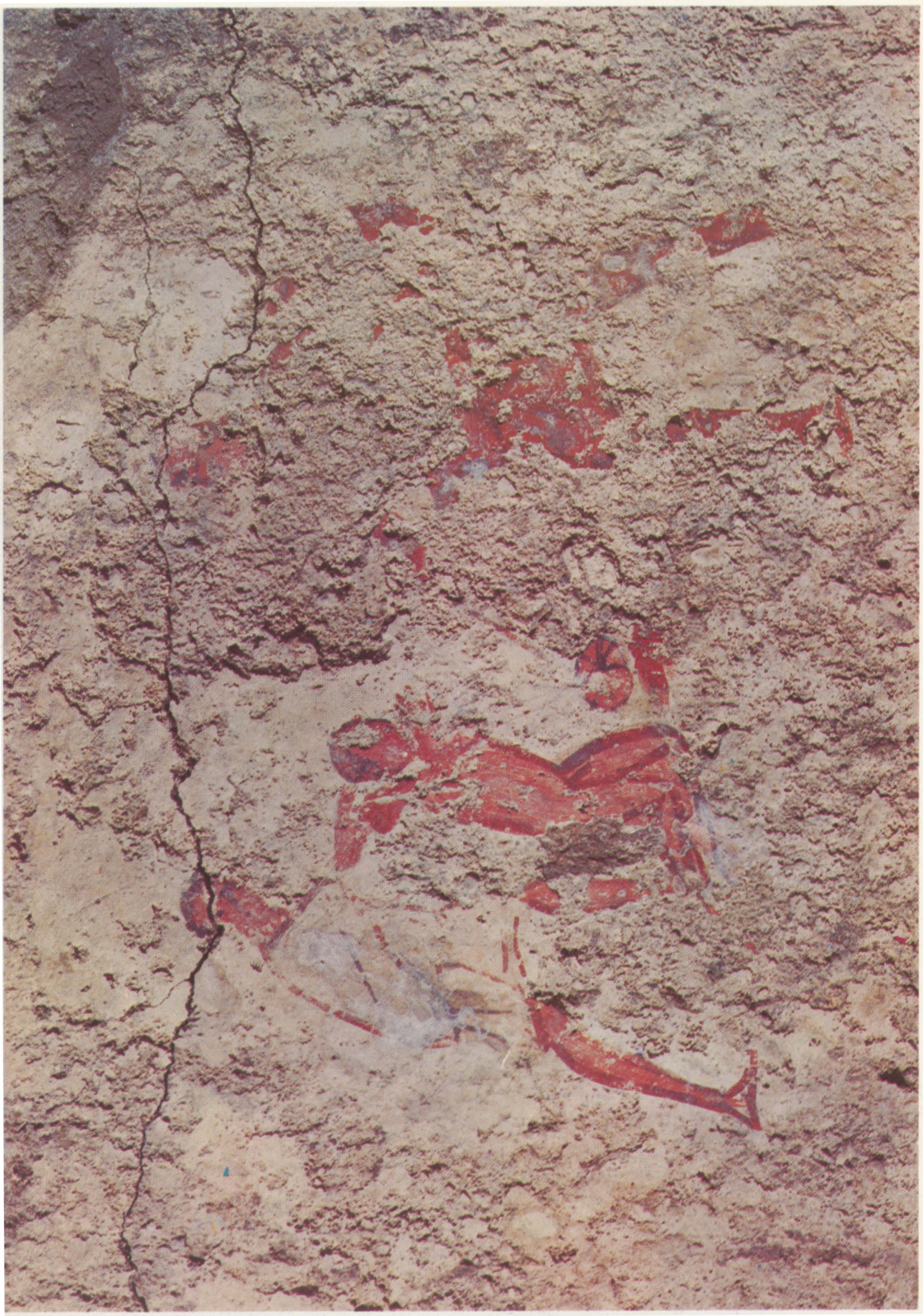

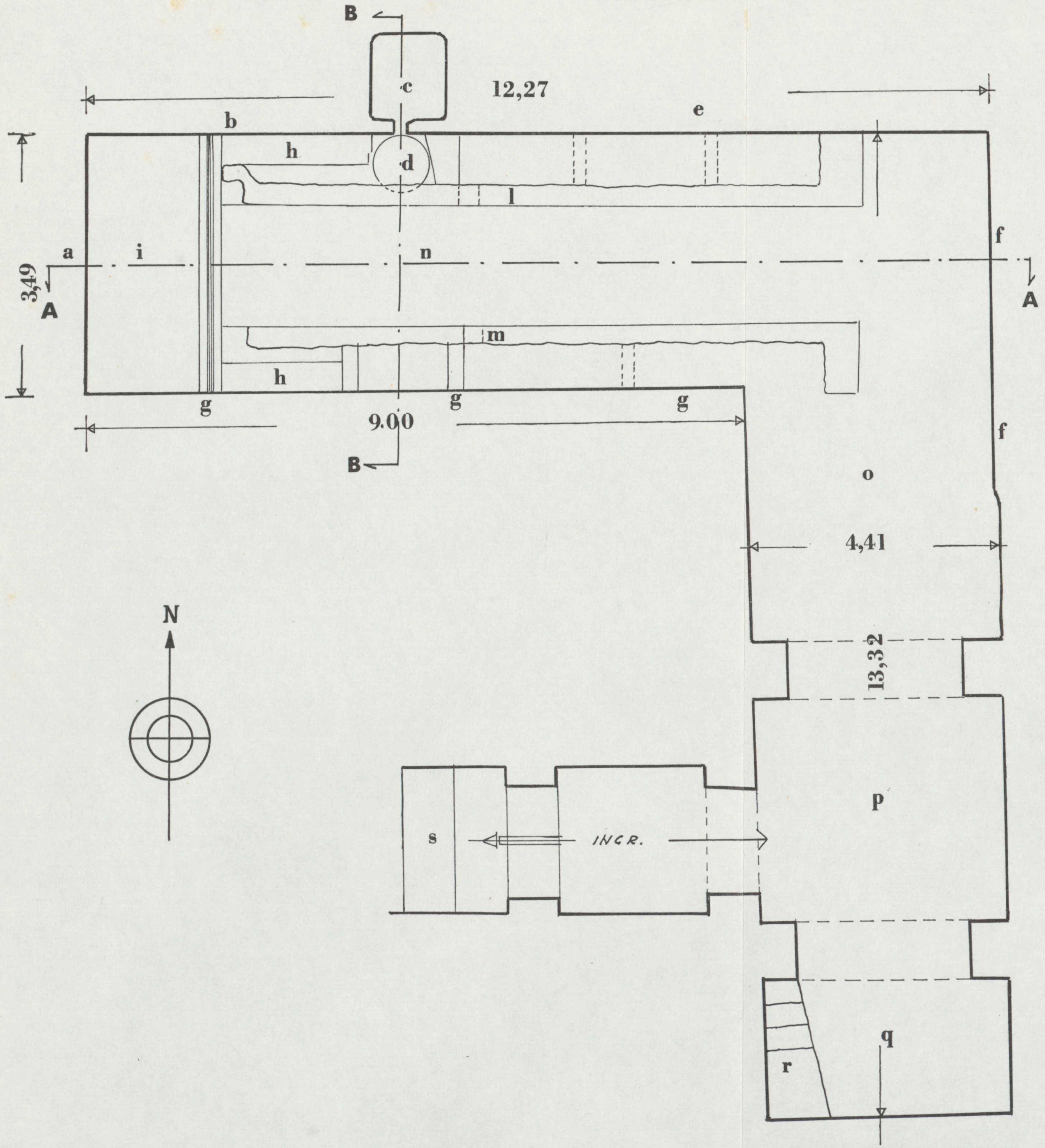
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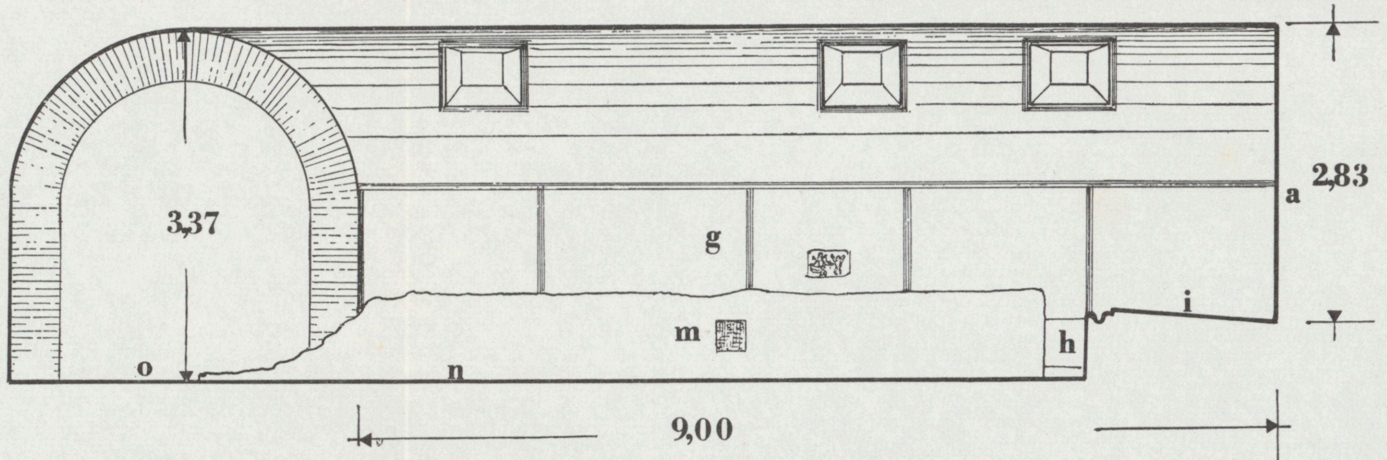
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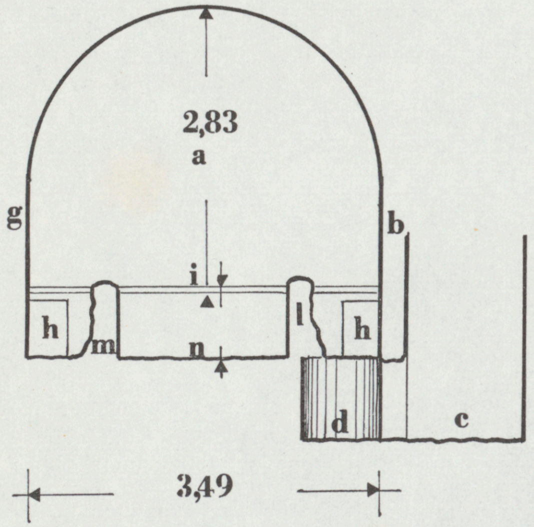
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